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(South African)
No. 8
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Confidential

South African Affairs

Despatches from His Majesty's High Commissioner (Lord Harlech)

CLOSED
UNTIL
1975

Part I—Union of South Africa
Part II—South Africa High Commission Territories

[1941—1944]

8

[*For previous correspondence concerning the South Africa High Commission*

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Part I—Union of South Africa
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SOUTH AFRICAN AFFAIRS

Despatches from His Majesty's High Commissioner (Lord Harlech)

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SOUTH AFRICAN AFFAIRS

Despatches from His Majesty's High Commissioner (Lord Harlech)

[1941—1944]

PART I—UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA

(a) Industrial Development

W.T. 361/22.

No. 1.

DESPATCH

from

HIGH COMMISSIONER IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA FOR HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

(Received 26th March, 1942.)

(South Africa.)

(No. 66. Confidential.)

Cape Town, 26th February, 1942.

SIR,

Since my arrival here in May, 1941, I have had in mind the preparation of a memorandum on industry in the Union, the developments which have already taken place under the stimulus of war conditions, the apparent objectives of industrial policy as disclosed in statements from official quarters and the general economic background against which those objectives must be viewed. It may be said that in the abnormal conditions of war-time a balanced survey is hardly possible and that forecasts made at the present time may be falsified by the actual course of events. There is weight in this, but the subject is one in which public and official quarters here are showing such a lively interest and one of so much importance to industry and commerce in the United Kingdom that I nevertheless felt that I should be justified in drawing attention to the main trends as I see them.

2. I was recently informed, however, that the Industrial and Agricutural Requirements Commission, which was appointed shortly after the beginning of the war to survey the Union's industrial and agricultural requirements and to enquire into the development of South Africa's resources, was about to submit a Report on the "Fundamentals of Economic Policy in the Union." I therefore delayed the completion of the contemplated memorandum until this Report, of which I enclose an advance copy*, became available. I would emphasise that the Report has not yet been published, and that, until I notify you by telegram that publication has taken place, *the enclosed advance copy should be treated as strictly confidential*. The Chairman of the Commission is Dr. van Eck, Managing Director of the South African Industrial Development Corporation which was set up under the Industrial Development Act, 1941. The members of the Commission were Dr. Haughton, Head of the Geological Survey; Dr. Hans Pirow, a former Government Mining Engineer, and now a director of several mining companies; Dr. F. J. de Villiers, of the Department of Commerce and Industries; Dr. Leppan, professor of agricultural economics at Pretoria University; and Dr. Bernard Price, chairman of the Victoria Falls Power Company.

3. The Commission's Report appears to me to be a most important document, which merits reading in full. It provides facts and figures essential to an understanding of the Union's economic structure, both industrial and agricultural, and an indication of the hopes and calculations which lie at the base of present South African policy and planning. The Commission's recommendations (pages 83-84) are far-reaching and provocative; the forthright comments on agriculture and agricultural policy and on the necessity for an improvement in the standard of living of the coloured and native communities are in particular likely to raise a storm of controversy. On the other hand, it may be contended that the members of the Commission are on the whole academically and scientifically, rather than industrially qualified, and that their Report contains a good deal of economic theorising which, though admirable in itself, it may be difficult to test in practice, owing to the political strength of vested interests, particularly the agricultural interest. For these reasons its influence may prove to be less than at first sight would seem likely but it is nevertheless inevitable that it should form one basis, at least, for the discussion of the Union's economic future. Its recommendations are based on long-term considerations and, if accepted, would mould Government economic and agricultural policy for many years to come.

4. The memorandum which I now enclose deals mainly with industrial development in the Union on the lines mentioned in the first paragraph of this despatch. It draws largely on material provided by the Report of the Industrial and Agricultural Requirements Commission (but does not

* Not printed here.

attempt to summarise it) and on published or private statements by Ministers, officials and others. Its conclusion is that the Union is now definitely set on the path of large-scale industrialisation, as the only hope of solving the fundamental economic problem set by the unproductiveness of agriculture and the inevitable exhaustion of the gold mines.

5. I feel that I should, however, supplement what is said in the memorandum by some more general comments, for it would be vain to conclude any memorandum on the economic future of a country without attempting to forecast how far economic and commercial considerations may be affected by political sentiments and aspirations. Though economic considerations affect politics, it remains true that politics are in the long run more powerful than economics in determining the economic evolution of a nation. In Canada, Australia and India industrial development, often artificial, has received powerful reinforcement from political sentiment. Nowhere is such a development now more certain than in the Union of South Africa. The agents of British manufacturing or exports firms and those British South Africans who are primarily British in sentiment rather than South African are a minority of a minority. The majority of enfranchised South Africans are not of British race, and the majority of British South Africans put " South Africa and South African interests " first. But the latter being a minority have a very special political reason for supporting a policy of industrialisation in South Africa. They hope for a further influx of British immigration after the war. They know that attempts to settle immigrants from the United Kingdom on the land have been a failure and that in the future even more than in the past they are doomed to disaster. They know too that politically the strength of the United Party is in the cities just as the strength of the Afrikaner separatist parties is in the rural districts and rural towns, and that if there is to be any political make-weight against the latter it must be by the growth of the population of the cities and industrial towns. If any immigration on a substantial scale is allowed by any South African Government after the war, it will be that of skilled artisans, engineers, etc.

6. Further, the only hope of solving the enfranchised poor white problem (mostly the younger sons of the large Afrikaner families from the backveld) is to secure the industrialisation of these people in towns and cities at an early age. The poor white problem cannot be solved in agriculture under the limitation of agricultural development which is outlined in the enclosed memorandum, and which is made very clear in the Report of the Industrial and Agricultural Requirements Commission. If indeed South Africa is to remain part of the British Commonwealth and the present movement for secession defeated, if even existing British interests—financial and economic—are to be preserved—it can only be by industrial development and increasing the voting strength of the cities and industrial towns. So the majority of British voters, as well as many Afrikaner voters in South Africa who wish to maintain the British connexion, are politically interested in the further industrialisation of South Africa if necessary at the expense of purely economic considerations. There is in South Africa, therefore, owing to its racial make-up a double reason for the policy of economic nationalism—Afrikaners wishing to be more self-supporting and less dependent on imports in general and from the United Kingdom in particular, the British because they want to increase the intake of new British blood to redress the existing balance of 60 per cent. to 40 per cent. against them.

7. In connexion with the Afrikaner's tendency towards a policy of economic nationalism it must, however, be admitted that in this he is confronted with something of a dilemma. The pre-requisites of industrial development are:

(1) speeding up of the movement of European and native labour into the towns; and

(2) a greater use of native labourers and an increase in the scope of the work on which they are employed.

(1) will adversely affect the interests of the farmers who have for a long time past been complaining that their labour was being enticed away from them; while (2) is directly contrary to the policy of coloured segregation which is a main plank in the Opposition Afrikaners' political programme. Moreover the so-called anti-British backvelder is in practice a fairly consistent buyer of British as against other non-Union goods. In spite of this the nationalist Afrikaner will certainly, *on the platform*, advocate a policy of economic nationalism.

8. Further, I should add that General Smuts himself uses to combat the introvert narrow isolationism of his fellow Afrikaners, the vision of a greater South Africa playing a predominant part —economically and commercially—in the great hinterland of Continental Africa north of the Limpopo. He, too, has told me that he personally would like to see the immigration of fresh British stock after the war.

9. The Union is clearly determined to develop its own air services in different parts of Africa, and its export trade to African markets, while it has hopes of increasing its own mercantile marine. This war has brought British West and East Africa, as well as the Belgian Congo, French Equatorial Africa and even Angola and Portuguese East Africa into many new and closer contacts with South Africa, and South Africans are determined if possible to maintain and increase these contacts, commercial, social and political, after the war. How far they will be able to succeed will depend in a measure on the future make-up of Europe and the Colonial economic policy of the European countries concerned but the geographical factor may well have a much greater influence than in the past.

10. The welcome and assistance given by the Union authorities and by public sentiment to the new American branch factories in Port Elizabeth is significant. This attitude is not due to any love for Americans or desire to play off American competitors against the predominant British interests in the import trade into South Africa, but is due to a feeling of satisfaction that American manufacturing firms have sufficient faith in South Africa and sufficient enterprise to build up industrial factories in South Africa employing South African labour. A number of British firms have their branches, subsidiaries, or associated companies in the Union, and all that I have said serves to show that increased development and enterprise along these lines is one way of preserving British industrial and commercial interests which would at the same time be in harmony with probable Union policy.

11. The existence of large deposits of coal and base metals in the Southern half of Africa, notably in the Transvaal, Swaziland, the Rhodesias and the Congo, the fact that historically the development of South African industry has been mainly in engineering and metallurgy hitherto ancillary to mining but expanded during the last two years to meet the requirements of munition production, all point to " heavy industry " as the most probable line of conscious and assisted development.

12. I therefore consider it important that not only His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom, who will no doubt wish to take up with the Union Government the latter's policy with regard to Empire migration and settlement before the conclusion of the war, but in due course British manufacturers and exporters should have some timely warning of the factors—political as well as economic—which are now clear to me. British manufacturers' interests in the South African market will have to be buttressed from within rather than from without.

13. Before leaving England I was asked by Mr. Arthur Greenwood, M.P., who was then the Minister responsible for studying problems of post-war reconstruction to give attention to these matters, and I suggest for your consideration that a copy of this confidential despatch should be circulated to the Minister now responsible for this work as well as to the President of the Board of Trade. I am sending copies direct to Mr. Malcolm Macdonald, Sir Ronald Cross and Sir Harry Batterbee in Ottawa, Canberra and Wellington respectively for their information.

I have, &c.,

HARLECH,

High Commissioner.

Enclosure in No. 1.

INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA.

(Confidential.)

The Union's prospects as an industrial country are now the subject of eager discussion in many quarters. Under the stimulus of war conditions South African industrialists have undertaken tasks which would have appeared impossible not many years ago. The virtual withdrawal of other exporting countries from the large markets of the African continent has thrown the door wide open to South African goods. It is ironical that the war, which has given industrialists these opportunities, should have at the same time imposed restrictions which have limited their capacity to profit by them. But there is no doubt that the horizons of South African industry are widening; sanguine exporters plainly express their hopes of holding and extending the markets which war conditions have helped them to invade; the more easy-going sort of politician says that industrial development will " solve all our probems "; under the ægis of the Prime Minister himself there is developing a distinctive South African neo-Imperialism which is giving a new significance to the bronze figure of Rhodes with the northward-pointing arm: " Your hinterland is there." In these circumstances it may be of interests to the Secretary of State to have some account of the objects of industrial policy in the Union as declared by representative and influential persons, of the development which has already taken place under the stimulus of war conditions, and of the natural resources and the economic conditions which govern such development.

2. The fundamentals of economic policy in the Union are examined in a Report recently prepared by the Industrial and Agricultural Requirements Commission which was appointed shortly after the beginning of the war to survey the Union's industrial and agricultural requirements and to enquire into the development of South Africa's resources. This report has not yet been published, but an advance copy has been made available. This memorandum draws largely on material contained in the Report and must therefore, until the latter is published, be regarded as strictly confidential.

3. The possibilities of industrial development in South Africa form the main theme of the present memorandum, but it is desirable in the first place to give a brief description based largely on the Commission's report of the general economic structure in which secondary industry fills such an increasingly important place. For the first two centuries of white settlement and the opening up of the interior, the economy of South Africa was exclusively pastoral and agricultural in form. The export of wool, mohair, hides and skins, and ostrich feathers was fostered, but South Africa was not able to supply itself with more than a meagre range of manufactured necessities. Even in agricultural products it was, indeed, content to import such commodities as eggs, butter, bacon, meat and sugar. With the growth of large centres of population on the diamond fields and the Witwatersrand, agriculture for the first time became assured of a rapidly expanding internal market; and the circumstances of the war of 1914–18 provided a fresh and cogent stimulus to the production of commodities which had not hitherto been produced on a considerable scale. In the four years before the outbreak of the last war there had developed a fairly considerable export trade in maize, fruit and wattle-bark; and in the war years the Union became aware of its power to produce on a large scale, and even to export, those dairy products for the supply of which it had hitherto relied on importation. In the years that followed 1919, South African agriculture became exposed more and more to the hazards of the world market, as it depended for the disposal of an ever-growing proportion of its produce upon shipment abroad; and in recent years there has grown up a vast and wasteful system of maintaining a high internal level of agricultural prices by means of a subsidised export, which in the year 1939–40 was estimated by the Industrial and Agricultural Requirements Commission as having cost other sections of the community £7,500,000 to the farmers and over £2,000,000 to the manufacturers of primary products. Large sections of South African agriculture are, in fact, hopelessly " uneconomic." They have only been able to maintain their existence as a result of the disproportionate share of political power given to the " platteland " as against the towns by the electoral arrangement of the Act of Union, and the consequent distortion of the South African economy by indiscriminate State help aimed at " keeping people on the land."

4. With the exception of the small winter rainfall area in the South-Western Cape, the country receives most of its rain in summer, so that there is a regular six months' drought. The amount of precipitation declines westwards as the distance from the Indian Ocean increases and the country flattens. As a result a large part of the summer rainfall area is semi-arid and, indeed, only one-third of the whole Union receives more than 25 inches a year—the minimum needed for a successful crop production in most parts of the Union. Moreover, it is unfortunate that a large proportion of the annual rainfall occurs in short torrential downpours which give a heavy loss in run-off. The high rate of evaporation due to high temperature further decreases the efficacy of the rainfall.

5. Another fundamental disadvantage is that good agricultural soil is found only rarely and in patches. The greater part is deficient in phosphates, and the absence of large tracts of fertile soils hinders the mechanisation of agriculture and a consequent reduction in the cost of production. Save in certain selected areas, therefore, the Union's physical features do not combine to give the moisture, temperature and soils required for successful crop cultivation, and to-day less than 6 per cent. of the total area of the country is cultivated. The Industrial and Agricultural Requirements Commission state that the maximum irrigable area is very restricted—possibly 2,000,000 acres—and that in all these circumstances at most some 15 per cent. of the Union is ever likely to be cultivated. Agriculturally, therefore, the greater portion of the country is suited only to livestock farming, such as merino sheep; but because the unfavourabe conditions restrict the production of feedstuffs, in most areas animal husbandry has to be conducted on an " extensive " basis.

6. The main arable crop upon which much else depends is maize, to which about five million acres are allotted annually. In recent years the yield of this large acreage has varied widely, according to the amount and time of the scanty rainfall. In the drought season of 1932-33 the yield was only 800,000 short tons, and in the best recent season (1936-37) just over 3,000,000 short tons. (A short ton is 2,000 lb.) Similarly, the production of wheat varies greatly from year to year. This crop is heavily subsidised but highly speculative. In the good year 1936-37, 700,000 short tons were produced, but in the following year only 320,000 tons were produced from a slightly larger acreage. The Union seldom produces or can be expected to produce enough wheat for its own internal demand. South Africa has recently developed a very large fruit industry for export—far, indeed, in excess of any possible internal effective demand. The exportable surplus averages about 150,000 tons of oranges, 40,000 tons of grapes, 20,000 tons each of grape fruit and pears, 10,000 tons each of peaches, plums and apples. All these are luxury products expensive to pack, to transport to Europe and to market. The sugar-cane fields of Natal normally produce far more than the internal market needs.

7. As regards animal husbandry, woolled sheep are the most important asset. The sheep population of the Union is approximately 35,000,000 woolled and 6,000,000 non-woolled sheep. The cattle population is about 12,000,000, of which nearly half are owned by natives. The quality of these cattle is often poor and slow in maturing. Overstocking and consequent soil erosion are always a problem in the drier areas; and in the long droughts of winter the cattle are often reduced to great poverty and so are slower in growth and maturing than in European conditions. The value of wool exports has varied between the figure of €13,900,000 in 1930, and £4,800,000 in 1935.

8. Vines luxuriate near Cape Town, and South African wines should have a chance in European markets after the war. But here, again, the climatic factor tends to make Cape wines strong and rather rough for European taste, and the climate of Cape Town—very wet in the winter and hot and dry in the summer and autumn—makes the proper maturing of Cape wines a difficult technical problem not yet mastered. Before the war, the failure to get effective sales in Great Britain of Cape wines in competition with French and German wines of superior quality, led to the very large export of raw grapes. Except therefore in merino wool and citrus fruits South Africa will always have difficulties in competing in world markets, and her further development as an exporter of agricultural products is, in my opinion, unlikely.

9. In the circumstances the most " logical " line of development is in the extension of production of the protective foods—dairy products, meat, vegetables and fruit—for a home market which, from the standpoint of health, ought to consume much larger amounts of these commodities than it does. Much attention is now being paid to the problem of malnutrition, and it is significant that people who approach the problem purely from the health point of view are making common cause with such bodies as the National Marketing Council to urge the introduction of a system of family allowances and thus to increase the purchasing power of a large section of the European people which cannot now afford sufficient of the protective foods necessary for health. It is to be noted that no solution at all is even discussed of the problem of the tragic malnutrition among natives, except the very long-range one of raising the wage level.

10. In spite, however, of the very considerable assistance given to agriculture at the expense of mining in particular and the community as a whole, there are few branches of farming which are remunerative enough to justify the large proportion of the population engaged in them. It was calculated that in 1936 the 64 per cent. of the total working population of the Union which was dependent on farming (33 per cent. of the total if casual farm labour in European areas and native agriculture in the reserves is omitted from the calculation) accounted for only 12¼ per cent. of the national income. The Industrial and Agricultural Requirements Commission draw attention to these figures as significant of a fundamental maladjustment in the country's economy, and add that it would appear that, on purely economic grounds, too large a proportion of the population is still on the land. But so far from correcting an unhealthy tendency, the present policy with regard to agriculture is expressly designed to bolster up a relatively unproductive and uneconomic industry and even within that industry to divert productive resources to those branches of farming which are least suited to South African conditions. The mere fact of a subsidy encourages many farmers to put under cultivation quite unsuitable land yielding little profit, with the result that the farmer

subsequently brings pressure on the Government to increase the subsidy still further in order to enable him to secure a reasonable profit from the marginal land. If the Government yields, even more unproductive land is brought under cultivation and the vicious cycle goes on.

11. A policy so essentially wasteful as this is made possible only by the vast contribution of the gold mining industry to the national economy. Whereas the proportion of the net national income derived from agriculture dropped from 20 per cent. in 1924 to 12.7 per cent. in 1938, the proportion contributed directly by gold mining rose in the same period from 12.2 to 18.3 per cent. Indirectly, of course, gold mining is responsible for a much larger share of the national income than is indicated by this figure. It is indeed " the mainspring of the Union's economic system." It contributes over two-fifths of the annual revenue of the State, and accounts for over £110 million in exports out of a total of £140-150 million. The purchasing power made available by the gold mines is of the utmost importance, both for external payments and for the maintenance of the income level. But it is evident that a falling-off in the tonnage of ore available is inevitable and cannot be indefinitely postponed.

12. There are many conflicting estimates of the period which will elapse before the Witwatersrand goldfields are exhausted. The Government Mining Engineer, working on the assumption that no extension of the depth of mining below the present generally accepted limit of 8,500 feet is possible and that the present price-cost relationship remains undisturbed, submitted the following estimate to the Industrial and Agricultural Requirements Commission:—

Year.	*Tons of Ore available for milling.*
1940	64·5 (millions).
1945	63·2 ,,
1950	54·4 ,,
1955	26·3 ,,
1960	19·0 ,,
1965	9·1 ,,

On the stated assumptions the gold mining industry would thus in 25 years have shrunk to one-seventh of its present size. The consulting engineer of the Union Corporation, however, submitted estimates of a more optimistic nature. Allowing for a possible extension of mining to a level below 8,500 feet in cases where conditions are favourable, and for the opening up of new mines, he believes that the tonnage milled will show no appreciable drop for a decade, but that the decline will set in in 1952, and that it will attain a rapid rate in 1960. All estimates, however, must necessarily ignore such incalculable factors as the future of the gold price and the trend of gold taxation in the Union. As to the former the very uncertain basis on which the Union's major industry is now existing is emphasised by the Industrial and Agricultural Requirements Commission in their statement that " Had it not been for a very fortunate change in the relationship between the price of gold and other prices after 1932 the present position of the gold mining industry would have been parlous." As to the latter it may be worth recording that Mr. Hofmeyr, in a recent talk with a member of my staff, showed himself fully aware of the importance of taxation as one of the factors affecting the life of the industry; but in this regard political developments after the war render speculation about the trend of gold mining taxation obviously unprofitable. At the same time it should be pointed out that the industry's own capital structure is not adapted to enable the industry as a whole to weather an economic storm. Mines owned and managed by one group with common technical services are treated, for financial purposes, as separate entities. Numbers of marginal mines hover on the verge of bankruptcy, while other mines in the same group turn over enormous profits to their shareholders. A slight worsening of the economic situation might thus cause many casualties among the gold mines with heavy losses to investors, both of which would be greatly diminished if the capital structure were rationalised. The industry has so far, however, taken no steps to put its own financial house in order, and the task of anyone who attempts it is formidable.

13. In view of the inherent weakness of agriculture in South Africa and the inevitable decline, which may be postponed but can certainly not be averted, of the gold mining industry, there is a growing insistence in the public mind that the acceleration of the Union's industrial development should be one of the prime objects of State policy. In the period between the two wars there was a remarkable growth of manufacturing industry in the Union. The gross value of its output more than trebled between 1918 and 1938, rising from approximately £60,000,000 in 1917-18 to £187,000,000, twenty years later. In the same period the number of Europeans employed in secondary industry rose from 50,000 to 143,700; and the number of non-Europeans from 84,000 to 204,700. But it is a fact of capital importance that with few and insignificant exceptions the Union's secondary industries are dependent on a market provided in the first place by the enormous distribution of purchasing power by the gold mines. The large engineering industry of the Southern Transvaal has developed almost entirely as a servicing and maintenance organisation for the mines. This is a striking example of an industry directly dependent upon the mines for its existence; but it requires no ingenuity to trace the various degrees of dependence back to the most remote corners of the national economy.

14. Over 600 factories in South Africa are at the present time given over wholly or in part to the production of thousands of items of equipment, supplies and munitions, for the Union forces and for the Imperial forces in the Middle East. The great majority of these factories and the bulk of the plant of the heavy industries associated wth them existed before the war to supply civilian needs, and have either

(1) increased output of their normal products because these are required for military as well as civilian purposes, for example, in the metallurgical industries, the increased production of steel and the production of new steel alloys at Iscor, the expansion of the explosives industry which before the war met the needs of the gold mines and which now produces the charges for small arms ammunition, shells and bombs, and in the food processing industries, especially the biscuit and canning factories, or

(2) been able to superimpose the production of war supplies on their ordinary production, though the latter has sometimes been partly and sometimes in the end completely sacrificed to the greater needs of the military forces. Of these the more important are the automobile industry where spare assembly capacity has been utilised to produce standard types of lorries and cars for the military forces as well as small armoured cars; the boot and clothing factories which have also produced army boots and uniforms in very large numbers; and the furniture factories which began by producing standard hutments and camp furniture and have now reached the stage of transferring their major capacity to the manufacture of aircraft wings, etc., or

(3) have been partly converted from their principal purpose to the production of related but different war requirements. For example, the conversion of the Mint to the production of small arms ammunition, and the use of the Railway and Mines workshops for the production of shell and bomb casings.

A few new factories have also been built for special war purposes, for example the factory that has produced all the Bellman hangars required for the air stations in the Union and Southern Rhodesia, but the general policy has been followed of expanding existing industries and grafting new plant on to them. Suggestions for establishing factories requiring imported raw material and involving intricate mechanical processes have been rejected as wasteful and expensive, and as throwing too severe a burden upon the very limited pool of highly skilled labour available in the Union. The result has been that on the whole effective use has been made of existing raw materials and plant and that local production and industry have not only been enabled to weather the crises of war-time markets, but to strengthen themselves to take the strain of re-conversion to civilian needs at the end of the war.

15. I do not intend in this memorandum to make more than a passing reference to the actual achievements of war production during the past 18 months; these have been reported to you from time to time in connection with the expansion of the Union's war effort, and some indication of their direction has been given in the preceding paragraph. I should perhaps mention, however, as an outstanding achievement the production of the large number of very efficient armoured cars which played so decisive a part in the advance of the South African troops through Somaliland and Abyssinia, the planned programme (which there is every reason to believe will be fulfilled) of the production of two hundred million rounds of small arms ammunition this year, and the steadily increasing output of shells and aerial bombs. The most useful contributions on a small scale have been the despatch of railway personnel to the Middle East where they have been responsible for the building of the new railway between Haifa and Beirut, and of railway and other mechanics for urgent work on the repair of tanks, armoured cars and mechanical transport for the forces in Egypt and the Western Desert, and the minor ship building repair work which has been done for both His Majesty's ships and merchant ships at the Union ports.

16. I am not at present in a position to give any estimate of how far it will be possible to turn factories set up for specific war purposes to the needs of post-war production. General Smuts, Mr. Hofmeyr, and others who have discussed the subject in public speeches, have been content to express a rather facile confidence in this regard. It can, however, be accepted that under the stimulus of war the Union has been forced to undertake tasks which would have seemed far beyond its capacity a few years ago, and that in the process of fulfilling them it has gained experience and skill which will be of the utmost value in the future. In the South African Air Force there is now a large reservoir of highly trained mechanics who will be available for the skilled jobs of industry after the war, and Dr. van der Bijl's scheme for intensive training of artisans has up to now turned out no fewer than 5,000 trained operatives who will be able to take their place in peace-time industry. So far as the great engineering shops of the State Railways are concerned, the Minister of Railways, Mr. Sturrock, has a committee at work investigating the question of expansion. "I hope," he said in a recent newspaper interview, "to establish new workshops so that more and more of our requirements will be made in our own country, and less and less imported. The day is not far distant when we shall make our own locomotives, all the trucks and carriages we need, railway tracks and all other accessories." His statement was perhaps rather a piece of political propaganda than an announcement of a new development, since in fact the greater part of the South African Railways' carriage and truck requirements have been met by their own workshops during the last few years. The production of their own locomotives would be a new and striking development, but those who know the very complicated manufacturing organisation involved do not share Mr. Sturrock's view that it is an imminent one. Dr. van der Bijl for his part has declared that one of the most important gains in the war so far as South Africa is concerned will be the establishment of a machine tool industry. In this connexion it is only fair to say that his optimism is not shared by some of his technical advisers who are very doubtful of the possibility, or indeed of the value, of establishing an industry designed to turn out highly complicated machine tools for a relatively small market.

17. The engineering expansion of the past 18 months would have been impossible without the notable contribution of the South African Iron and Steel Corporation (Iscor) to the war effort. The steelworks were established by a Nationalist Government in 1928, determined to carry its particularism into the economic and industrial field. The Bill setting up the Corporation was opposed by General Smuts and the old South Africa Party, on the grounds that a steel industry in South Africa would be expensive and unnecessary. Now the wheel has come full circle and an industry set up by the Nationalists has become the mainstay of a war effort which they have never ceased to oppose. Last year its production reached the 400,000 tons mark; this year, when a third blast furnace comes into operation, it is expected to be 600,000. Great expansion, moreover, is in progress. A new Bessemer converter has recently been "blown in." Iscor's coke-oven plant previously supplied approximately 200,000 tons of coke annually and 9,000,000 cubic feet of gas daily. By the installation of a second battery of 45 ovens, the output has been more than doubled. The coking time in the new ovens is 20 per cent. less than in the old set. The expected output of by-products will include 7,686,000 gallons of road tar, motor spirit, creosote, etc., and 9,500 tons of napthaline and hard

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pitch. The production of coke is expected to rise to 396,000 tons this year. This involves a coal consumption of 1,053,000 tons. Work has begun on the van der Bijl Works at Vereeniging which in time will greatly exceed in size the Iscor Works at Pretoria. Plans are in readiness for the construction of a model housing scheme costing £2,000,000. A plate mill is on its way from the United States for installation at Vereeniging and ingots will be sent to it from Iscor for rolling. A high official told me that, in fact, the metallurgical industry is "doubling itself" as a result of the war.

18. If the war has brought into being a munitions and armaments industry, it has had hardly less dramatic effects on a whole range of industries which are not primarily war industries but have imposed upon their ordinary production a vast production of equipment and foodstuffs for the supply of the South African and other forces. The boot and shoe industry, for example, has now pushed its production to the total of 7,000,000 pairs a year, of which the only imported elements are tips, screw wire and threads. In the year ended 31st March, 1941, more than 1,000,000 pairs of boots were made for the European, native and coloured troops of the Union. Boots are also being produced for Imperial troops in the Middle East at a rate which is expected to reach 200,000 a month during the present year.

19. The food-canning industry has doubled its output since the beginning of the war, and but for the shortage of tin-plate its production could be almost indefinitely extended. It produces considerable quantities of foodstuffs for the forces in the Middle East and for domestic consumption. Other African territories which before the war had obtained their requirements of canned foods from Europe and the United States now look to the Union to supply their needs. The production of cigarettes has risen from 4,200 million last year to an estimated 5,000 million in 1942, valued at £8,500,000. Exports vary from 40,000,000 to 80,000,000 cigarettes a month. A new and highly successful pharmaceutical industry is growing up.

20. A visit to Port Elizabeth last September provided a vivid impression of the Union's industrial development in one area where progress has been particularly rapid in recent years. Here is concentrated the great American assembly plants from which motor vehicles in peace-time are distributed throughout the Union and beyond to the Rhodesias, Portuguese East Africa, the Belgian Congo and other African territories. Here, too, is the branch factory of the Firestone Tyre Company. At its establishment five years ago it could produce 400 tyres a day; that output had a few months ago been almost trebled and if rubber supplies had been still available in sufficient quantity the output would in a few months' time have risen to as much as 1,200 a day. From this factory tyres have been exported throughout Africa as far north as the Sudan. Since the outbreak of war Port Elizabeth factories have developed a bullet-resisting tube for the Army. Shatter-proof and bullet-proof glass is also made here, as well as electric batteries and similar articles.

21. The great expansion of secondary industry in recent years would not have been possible without the remarkable activity of the Electricity Supply Commission, which has taken electric power to all but the most remote villages, and provided nearly every industrial undertaking from the gold mines downwards with cheap motive power. It is a striking measure of this expansion that the electric power generated in July of last year exceeded the monthly average for 1939 by 19 per cent. Dr. van Eck, the Managing Director of the Industrial Development Corporation, in a recent broadcast compared this figure with the increase of 1·5 per cent. that had taken place in the same period in the total number of industrial establishments. It was an indication, he pointed out, of a healthy tendency to extend existing establishments rather than to start new undertakings. "We are thus definitely set," he said, "on the path of increased rationalisation and increased mechanisation of industry."

22. Two years ago the Industrial Development Corporation was set up by Act of Parliament with the object of encouraging the establishment of new industries by helping in suitable cases, to raise the necessary capital. Its chairman, Dr. van der Bijl, is also the chairman of Iscor and of the Electricity Supply Commission. He is also carrying out the war-time job of Director-General of War Supplies. It is evident that he holds a commanding position in South African industry. Moreover, he is still a young man and there is every reason to believe that in the vitally important years ahead he will have a powerful influence on the development of South Africa's industrial policy. His views are, therefore, deserving of the utmost consideration. In a series of recent public addresses he has set out his ideas about the future of industry in this country, and, being possessed of great energy and drive, he will certainly do all in his power to translate his vision into reality.

23. Dr. van der Bijl insists that the lessons of the war have proved that every part of the British Commonwealth must be developed into an "industrial stronghold." The safety of the Dominions should not in the future depend to such a large extent on the manufacturing ability of the United Kingdom where factories are so vulnerable to air attack, and on the maintenance of British shipping services. He would like to see British industrialists pursue on a larger scale the policy of setting up branch factories in the Union; but whether they do or do not will make no difference to his determination to push forward with a coherent plan for the industrialisation of the Union from within. He treats the agricultural industry with ill-concealed contempt as a spendthrift and feckless elder brother who has wasted the family fortune; and he is brutally frank about the fate in store for the gold mines.

24. In an important speech at the annual meeting of the Industrial Development Corporation in December (a copy of which is enclosed*), Dr. van der Bijl reviewed the prospects of secondary industry in the Union. These, he said, were good, but like every newly-industrialised country the Union was at an initial disadvantage in competing with established overseas suppliers on account of the limited local market. Moreover, in many industries this disadvantage was aggravated by the growth, under the protection of high tariffs, of many small industries below the "optimum" size

* Not printed here.

and, in many cases, working below capacity. There was much scope for rationalisation, a process which should be carried out now while these industries were protected by the war from the blast of overseas competition. " I am convinced," Dr. van der Bijl continued, " that industrial expansion cannot be achieved along sound lines by an indiscriminate use of protective duties. There are, however, certain industries such as shipbuilding and certain shipping services which may not be economic in themselves, but which, as this war has clearly taught us, are necessary and may be essential from a national point of view." While many responsible business men believed that industrial deveopment was not necessarily dependent on protection, even under the relatively high wage structure of the Union, it had to be emphasised that " when employment must be provided under our cost structure in competition with overseas manufacturers, it is obvious that some special measures will have to be taken to support the establishment of industries and thus provide employment." At the same time, however, great care would have to be exercised to ensure that the industries developed on rational and efficient lines. Where enormous productive units had already been built up overseas there could be no question that industrial policy in the Union would have to encourage a similar tendency, and it was hoped that the Industrial Corporation would be of great help in this respect.

25. It is to be noted that Dr. van der Bijl in the quotation above strongly qualified his warning about the dangers of high protection; and it is worth repeating at this point the peroration to a broadcast address which he delivered last August on the theme of South Africa's industrial future. " A great deal of planning is necessary," he said. " We have only just started; and we must bear in mind that after the war, dumping—that iniquitous form of competition that hardly deserves the name of competition, especially when it is sweat-wage dumping—dumping from all quarters of the globe will be on us again like a pack of wolves. That is when all good South Africans must support the Government in fighting the scourge. That is when we shall have to be *aggressively South African*." This warning was repeated in similar terms by Dr. Norval, the chairman of the Board of Trade and Industries. Both statements are typical of an attitude which, when carried to an extreme, denounces all successful competition as " dumping " and makes nonsense of the principle of comparative advantage in international trade.

26. Since 1925 very extensive use has been made of the tariff to raise the prices of imported household necessities and other manufactured goods at a level at which they could be profitably manufactured in the Union. It is clear that when the Union embarked on the policy of stimulating the process of industrialisation by means of a tariff it was not sufficiently realised that the inevitable consequence would be increases in the costs of production and in the cost of living. The Agricultural and Industrial Requirements Commission (which itself echoes Dr. van der Bijl's warning when it says (page 84 (*b*) of the Report) that it is considered that industrial expansion on sound lines cannot be achieved by an indiscriminate use of protective duties or other means of assistance) states (paragraph 103) that in its view the increase that has resulted in the cost of living of the lower-income groups has not been adequately compensated for by an increase in their purchasing power. Since the manufacture of articles in common demand is obviously dependent for its success on adequate purchasing power of the mass of the people, the Union has been brought up early in its new industrial career against the obstinate dilemma of wages chasing a rising cost of living up the traditional spiral. The Commission estimates that in the year 1939-40 the protection of manufacturing industry cost the consumer in the Union no less than £10,000,000.

27. Among the dominant facts in the present industrial organisation of the Union are the high cost of production and the limited local market. Both are the result of the great disparity between the wages of European and non-European labour. To attract artisans who in the early days of gold mining had to be drawn from overseas, the mines offered wages which set a fantastically high level for industry as a whole. The high wages on the gold mines were made possible only by great profits and the shameless exploitation of native labour. In manufacturing industry, however, the wages paid to European workers are not justified by the productivity of their labour; and the process of adjustment has been made almost impossible by the powers of trade unions which restrict the entry of apprentices into industry, and by a combination of political and economic factors which confine the native workers to unskilled tasks. The traditional classification of tasks has, moreover, become hopelessly out of date with the extension of mechanical processes in industry. European workers are paid skilled wages for jobs which could be done as efficiently by semi-skilled natives; and native labour, because it is cheap, is used wastefully in unskilled tasks.

28. In 1925 the average wage per head of European workers employed in manufacturing industry was £219 as compared with an average of £51 paid to non-Europeans. By 1937 these averages had risen to £227 and £54 respectively. Since the percentage of female workers, who are lower paid, had risen in the case of Europeans and fallen for non-Europeans, it is evident that skilled wages as such must have risen appreciably since the inauguration of the Government's " civilized " (that is European) labour policy and of the system of wage regulation. It would not be difficult to show, therefore, that in effect industrial protection in the Union is largely the protection of skilled wages at a level which had its origin in the early years of the century when the Union experienced an acute shortage of skilled labour, and is definitely uneconomic in the circumstances of to-day.

29. The great disparity between the wages paid to Europeans and to non-Europeans is the direct result of a system of exploitation which excludes natives from the collective regulation of wages and, indeed, makes it possible for native wages in many industries to be fixed by negotiation between representatives of the European trade unions and the employers. In ordinary circumstances it might be expected that industrialists would tend to employ as many of the lower-paid labourers as possible; but this natural tendency is countered in South Africa by the " civilised " labour policy, particularly as administratively enforced by Government departments. Recalcitrant manufacturers can be penalised by exclusion from the lists of approved tenderers of the Union Tender Board and in other ways. Another device is the provision in the Industrial Conciliation Act for the extension

of wage agreements to natives (not defined as " workers " for the purposes of the Act) so as to prevent their employment at lower rates. This often leads to their partial or entire exclusion, since at the wages fixed their labour is uneconomic.

30. A much greater use of native labour is undoubtedly essential if manufacturing industry is to go ahead on an economic basis. The high wages paid to a disproportionately large number of European workers in industry are a serious obstacle to the full development of the Union's industrial resources. With the increasing mechanisation of industry wider and more effective use could be made of native workers who, with little training, show considerable aptitude for simple machine processes. There are, in fact, already signs that industrialists are growing impatient of the artificial barriers erected by official policy to the employment of natives; and it may well be that, as in the 19th century in England, the industrialists will be a powerful liberalising force in the economic system. Among far-sighted friends of the natives this is regarded as perhaps the most hopeful development of the present time.

31. It is clear that until the Union has learnt to make the most of its natural resources, to conserve and restore the health of its native population which is among its greatest assets, to use labour in the most efficient way without regard to restriction based on racial fears and prejudices, and to rationalise and plan its industrial structure, its industrial development will be slow and uncertain. Industrialists will have to realise that after the war the progressive forces of the world will be working towards the revival of trade on the basis of a freedom greater than that known since at least the end of the last war. South African manufacturers of a large variety of consumers' goods will have to reduce their costs to a world competitive level before they can hope to gain or hold markets in Africa outside the Union. They will have to realise that the value of their proximity to their prospective markets may easily be overrated, especially in view of the undoubted distrust which the Belgians and even the neighbouring British territories feel about the " Imperialist " tendencies now emerging in the Union. The costs of overland transport are, in any case, much greater than the costs of sea transport over even longer distances.

32. Dr. van der Bijl and Dr. van Eck both show a healthy realism about the difficulties in the way of a rapid reorganisation of South African industries on an export basis. " Secondary industry," Dr. van Eck said in a recent broadcast address, " has had to rely on a very considerable measure of protection in the past and, therefore, in the main is not in a position to export anything but a very small percentage of its total production. If it is to develop, therefore, it is obvious that it cannot develop on the basis of a substantial export market. Most of its products will for some time have to be consumed locally, and if this is to take place the masses of the population must also have the purchasing power and the ability to maintain the necessary standard of living under civilised conditions." In this clear reference to the need of raising the purchasing power of the native population as a condition precedent to the winning of vast markets north of the Limpopo, Dr. van Eck has stated a fact which is evident to anyone who has studied the Union's industrial potentialities with any detachment. It is particularly emphasised by the Industrial and Agricultural Requirements Commission. The conclusion no doubt appears a trifle arid to some minds. Mr. Stuttaford, the Minister for Commerce and Industries, for example, has never shown the slightest appreciation of the importance of the market provided by the Union's native population. On the other hand, as in the introduction to a recent supplement of the *Cape Times*, he delights in visions of the Union's " predestined position as the industrial fountain for the Continent of Africa. Our present development " his article continued " must now bring about a material increase in our capacity to supply also the needs of our industrially less developed northern friends, and I am noting with keen appreciation the broadening stream of Union products flowing northwards."

33. The Agricultural and Industrial Requirements Commission has stated that, in its view, the most hopeful lines of development, apart from the metallurgical industry (which will be discussed below) lie in the " processing of agricultural products and other enterprises which reduce bulk and so can offset the country's disabilities connected with transport; the manufacture of less refined goods from economically produced local raw materials since less refined articles are more likely to find a demand within the reach of the low purchasing power of the bulk of the population and can be produced more easily by the present general level of technical skill of South African labour; and the processing of foodstuffs, more particularly that which facilitates distribution and renders the protective foods more readily available to the lower income groups."

34. The central problem of the Union's economy, however, is to find some basic industry which will in time come to fulfil the function now performed by the gold mines, namely, to make available a large purchasing power to stimulate the growth of industries ministering to the more common household needs. It is for this place in the economy that the Union's industrial planners reserve the metallurgical industries. The value and variety of the Union's mineral resources is often exaggerated, but it is true that in the enormous reserves of coal and of iron ore the Union possesses the foundations of a large steel industry. The " probable " available reserves of iron ore have been very roughly estimated at 6,000 million tons. Of this, about 120 million tons, mainly in the Rustenburg and Postmasburg areas of the Transvaal, consist of high-grade and hæmatite ore of approximately 60 per cent. metallic ore content, low in sulphur and phosphorus content and containing from 1 to 5 per cent. of silica. The remainder is made up of various types of ore, the metallic iron content varying from 40 to 60 per cent. and silica from 5 to 25 per cent. As a comparison with other iron-producing countries it has been pointed out that these figures are exceeded only by those of the reserves of iron ore in the United States, France, Brazil and India. In addition there are vast reserves of iron ore of less than 40 per cent. metallic iron content and high percentages of silica which are estimated at the astronomical figure of more than 2,000,000 million tons. These iron ores are of no economic importance under present conditions, but nevertheless are an enormous potential reserve which may in the distant future be rendered available for use by some process of " beneficiation." In this connection I have already reported the recent discovery of iron ore of high grade quality in British Swaziland.

35. Of coal there are also limitless quantities. In the first six months of 1939 its total production in the Union was nearly 9,000,000 tons; this in the first six months of 1941 had risen to 9,700,000. Besides supplying all the Union's fuel and power requirements a considerable bunker and export trade has been built up. In 1939 sales of bunker coal amounted to more than 1,000,000 tons, and nearly 1,200,000 tons was exported. South African coal is easily got and pit-head prices are astonishingly low when compared with coal prices in the United Kingdom. On the other hand, although the full extent of the Union's coal reserves is not yet known, the coking coal reserves (on which an iron and steel industry is dependent) are small when compared with the available quantities of iron ore. Further, supplies of coking coal may, of course, be discovered; but in the meanwhile this vitally important type of coal is being exported and used for purposes other than coke-making, which might be satisfied by the use of other types of coal. The Industrial and Agricultural Requirements Commission have recommended to the Government that they should explore ways and means of preserving all coking coal as far as possible for coke production only.

36. In a modern steel industry the provision of the ferrous alloys is essential. For these the raw materials required consist chiefly of ores of manganese, of chrome of molybdenum, of nickel and vanadium. Fluorspar is also necessary. Manganese ores, which occur in the Postmasburg area, have during the past few years been actively exploited. Most of the production of about 500,000 tons per annum has hitherto been exported, Germany before the war taking by far the greatest part. The grade of ore produced is variable. Although the total amount of ore available is considerable, the quantity of first grade ore of a quality needed by the manufacturers of ferro-manganese appears to be limited. In this case, too, the Commission suggest that the Government should consider the question of conserving high grade ore for South Africa's own requirements and to investigate the possibilities of " beneficiating " the lower grade material. Technical work on the latter problem is now in progress. As to chrome ores, it can be said that South Africa's resources are immense, but that the grade in general is not very high and does not compare with that of Rhodesian chrome. With the advances which are bound to come in metallurgical methods, the Union's chrome ores may prove a source of great wealth to the country. Up to the present most of its production has been exported in the raw state. Of the other ores required, more than traces are to be found in many parts of the country. There are fairly large quantities of fluorspar. The Commission point out that a considerable expansion of steel production might make it necessary to conserve for internal consumpton such fluorspar supplies as are available.

37. The Agricultural and Industrial Requirements Commission has stated that in general the low price of most base minerals and their occurrence far inland with consequent heavy transport charges " militate against the exploitation of the Union's principal deposits on the basis of exporting crude ores. In the circumstances the development of the country's base mineral resources is primarily dependent upon industrial expansion in the Union." There may, however, be an important development in the export of " beneficiated " ores, notably of iron. The Commission have undertaken to submit in a later report specific recommendations regarding the long-range mining policy necessary to develop the Union's base minerals and to ensure that the best use is made of the supplies available.

38. It is clear that the Union is now definitely set on the path of large scale industrialisation. In such a process responsible people see the only hope of solving the fundamental economic problem set by the unproductiveness of agriculture and the inevitable exhaustion of the gold mines, and the only means in the long run of maintaining Western civilisation in Southern Africa. The path of industrialisation will not be easy. South Africa has the natural resources necessary for the growth of heavy metallurgical industry and for the satisfaction of a large variety of consumers' wants by the development of manufactures. But all this is dependent in the first place on the more intelligent and efficient use of its resources and an enlightened policy vigorously pursued, of raising the standards of living of the great mass of the population. Mr. Hofmeyr has said that in his opinion the " poor white " problem will vanish with the progress of industrialisation; and the native wage level can be raised gradually as measures to promote industrial development on a higher plane of efficiency take effect. On the other hand both the farmers and the mines are interested in resisting increases in the native wage level, and this whole matter is further complicated by the attitude of the European trades unions and Labour Party who fear any advance in the skill and greater industrial use of coloured labour as prejudicial to their racial interests.

HARLECH.

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(b) Political Affairs

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DESPATCH

from

HIGH COMMISSIONER IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA FOR HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

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Pretoria, 12th August, 1941.

MY LORD,

It has occurred to me that it may be useful to you to have towards the termination of the second year of the war an appreciation of its effects in this country and on our own attitude towards the Union. The paragraphs which follow necessarily recapitulate much that has already been reported in earlier telegrams and letters, but it is hoped that they will provide a background against which reports on specific developments and tendencies may have a greater value.

2. The outstanding event of the war from the South African point of view was the entry into it of Italy in June of last year since the effect of this, coincident as it was with the collapse of France, was almost to close the Mediterranean as a supply route to the Middle East and wholly to do so as a supply route for India. From then onwards the bulk of the seaborne supplies for these areas had to come round the Cape and the two ports of Cape Town and Durban became of paramount importance to the British Commonwealth in the prosecution of the war. South Africa, indeed, has resumed for the whole British Empire the strategic importance which it had held prior to the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869. The probability is that with the revolution in strategy and tactics which has been brought about by the development of air power it will never again be possible to place such reliance on the Mediterranean route as was placed on it during the seventy years from 1869–1939. For the prosecution of the present war the South African ports are, therefore, of vital importance to the British Commonwealth and even in the post-war period, I venture to think that no United Kingdom Government will so soon forget the tragic lesson of the Irish ports as to acquiesce without a struggle in their passing under the control of a Nationalist Government in the Union since the avowed policy of the Nationalist party is to establish a republic, and their control would therefore be at best neutral, and at worst hostile.

3. The implications of the changed value of the South African ports to the British Commonwealth have not been lost on the South Africans themselves. It is questionable whether, if the Suez Canal had not been cut, Gladstone's Government would ever have surrendered to the Boers after the battle of Majuba in 1881, but they did so and since that time, in spite of the interlude of the Boer War, it has been impressed on English-speaking South Africans by more than one United Kingdom Government that if it should ever again come to a " show-down " between them and the numerically larger Afrikaans-speaking section of the population, they would be unable to rely upon the firm support of the United Kingdom. This has resulted in the development among part of the English-speaking section of a state of apathy, and almost of indifference, towards the political situation in the country. The younger generation in particular were reluctant to enter or stand the racket of political life, whether in municipal or provincial councils, or in Parliament, and their attitude was in marked contrast to the intense keenness and competition in these fields among the Afrikaners. The English-speaking members of the House of Assembly are in consequence now qualitatively inferior to the Afrikaans-speaking members and, since the formation of the Union, have completely failed to produce any leader of, one might almost say, average, let alone outstanding, ability. A similar process has been at work in the civil service, and in state-controlled South African Railways and Harbours, the largest employers of white labour in the country. Since the time when, in both services bilingualism became compulsory they have tended to be avoided by the English-speaking South Africans, and, since the more ambitious Afrikaners have devoted themselves to the law or politics, the standard of entries has declined generally. The Nationalist Government from 1924 onwards pursued a deliberate policy of giving preference to Afrikaners in the civil service and railways and even though this process was checked by the Public Service Commission, the latter was usually obliged to give preference to an Afrikaner when his qualifications were approximately equal to those of English-speaking candidates for promotion. In consequence, civil servants were tempted to play politics, a tendency which was emphasised by the growing strength of the Nationalist political background on the home life of the younger Afrikaner civil servants. The result has been that there is a very definite cleavage of outlook, and an equally definite difference of quality between the older civil servants, represented by most of the present-day heads of departments, and the rest of the civil service. Almost all key positions in the civil service to-day are held by men on the verge of retirement, and, as my predecessors have pointed out, the war, had it come five years later, would have found the control of the civil service in the Union in very different hands from those which guide it to-day. Indeed, but for the loyalty and capacity of a dozen senior civil servants, about half of them of English, and the half of Akrikaner descent, accustomed to co-operation with the British after the Boer war, it is very doubtful if General Smuts and his Cabinet could have harnessed the administrative machine to the war effort without a degree of opposition or passive obstruction which could not have been tolerated but the suppression of which would probably have brought the whole machine to a standstill. The consciousness that South Africa is once more of value to the British Commonwealth, that its resources are helping to maintain the common struggle, that its industries are supplying the armies in the Middle East, and that the

South African forces are playing a conspicuous part in the campaigns in Africa, has produced a healthy reaction in the English-speaking section by restoring their confidence in themselves. They feel on the one hand that they are playing a worthy part in the life of their country, and in the war effort of the Commonwealth, and, on the other, that they have once more become the object of jealous concern to the United Kingdom and other Dominions. In Parliament the supporters of the Government, from " big business " to extreme labour, have shown a degree of solidarity behind General Smuts which made the last session of Parliament an unique one in the annals of the Union, while in the civil service sufficient of the younger English-speaking civil servants and of Afrikaners who support the Government, have shown sufficient readiness and ability to take responsibility to make possible some approach to that solidarity which war now forces upon more highly organized communities. But even so, the machine in the Government's hands is very short of efficient staff to operate it, and there is no doubt that it is in part due to this, and not only to the more obvious political difficulties, that the Union has lagged behind the rest of the Commonwealth in putting into effect the wide range of regulations and restrictions necessary to ensure the reduction of waste and the concentration of the whole economy of the country on matters essential to the war effort.

4. The effect of the war on the Afrikaans-speaking section of the Union's population has been equally marked. When General Hertzog and his supporters were defeated on the issue of participation in the war in September, 1939, the Nationalist opposition immediately exploited the break between General Smuts and General Hertzog to proclaim a reunion of Afrikanerdom in the Reunited Nationalist Party under the nominal leadership of General Hertzog, but under the *de facto* control of the now embittered Dr. Malan. This reunion might have resulted in something approaching the reunion of all Afrikaners which had been the aim of the Nationalist Party since its formation and which has never existed since the great trek of a hundred years ago. But the Nationalist wing of the Reunited Party made the pace too hot to last. Both Nationalists and Hertzogites agreed that the aim of the Reunited Party was an independent Afrikaner Republic in South Africa divorced from all connexion with the British Commonwealth, but General Hertzog and his followers sought to insist on, at any rate, lipservice to the ideal of equal rights for all South Africans, English or Afrikaans-speaking, within the Republic, and to impose the condition that it should be proclaimed only by the will of the majority of the people of South Africa. The Nationalists on the contrary maintained that a simple majority vote at any election would be fully sufficient, and, while admitting that the English-speaking South Africans should enjoy full cultural and language rights, by implication they denied them equal political rights in the republic to be. Moreover, since the republic was to be run in the interests of the Afrikaans-speaking section of the people, it was not difficult to foresee that the economic and commercial rights of the English-speaking section would also be threatened. Such rights as were left to them would be of grace only. There would thus be every possibility of a new " uitlander " agitation similar to that which provoked the Jameson raid and ultimately the second Boer war.

5. These distinctions may have seemed at first to be somewhat academic and bickerings about them within the Reunited Party might not have led to open cleavage but for the steady growth within the party of totalitarian ideas and a totalitarian organization. The chief apostle of these ideas was, curiously, the former Hertzogite Minister of Defence, Oswald Pirow. Mr. Pirow is of German parentage and he had been as greatly influenced by a visit which he paid to Germany in the later part of 1938, which had left him convinced of the might of Germany and profoundly impressed by the achievements of the National Socialist regime as he was by the ease with which he was able to hoodwink people in London. Mr. Pirow began by proclaiming that it was the mission of the Reunited Party to rehabilitate the poor whites, of which there are 300,000 in the Union, mostly Afrikaans-speaking and concentrated in the rural areas. The land was to be preserved exclusively for them, and British and Jewish capitalists were no longer to be able to exploit the Afrikaners whom he urged to unite for their defence, economically, socially and politically. The gold mines, the Press and the cinema should be nationalized. Mr. Pirow's policy was well calculated to appeal to the pockets as well as to the race prejudice of the Afrikaner. For years the farming community has been subsidised to the extent, it is calculated, of over £20 per annum per caput, man, woman and child, by Governmental action and at the expense of the rest of the community, so that State assistance to the farmer is no novelty. The rural Afrikaner too has remained as determined as the old Boers not to allow equal rights to the natives, Indians and coloured people of the Union. He disikes the towns which are at once English-speaking and by his standards extravagantly wealthy, and he owes money to the village storekeepers who have usually been Jews. The depression of 1929-33 drove thousands of Afrikaners from the country districts to the towns where they now form the bulk of the unskilled labour, especially among the Rand miners, and to these people it could be forcefully represented that at present the control of industry and the exploitation of the country's mineral wealth was in the hands of the " foreign " capitalists.

6. Mr. Pirow was also alive to the advantages of a politician having at his back an organization based on cell lines and disciplined to follow him without question. He first founded an organization of his own, the Handhawersbond, which purported to be purely cultural, but was clearly modelled on that of the Nazi party in Germany. This organization proved, however, to be a damp squib, partly because totalitarian ideas were still very much of a novelty in South Africa and had been somewhat discredited in the shape of the German-controlled " grey shirt " organization, partly because Mr. Pirow himself was still distrusted by the Nationalists as a Hertzogite, and partly because the " Handhawersbond " found another so-called cultural organization already in the field with, it was said, 80,000 members, the " Ossewa Brandwag." The latter had been formed a year earlier as a result of the centenary celebrations of the Great Trek, and its rapid growth was already a source of misgiving to the authorities. It had also been an object of considerable interest to the German representatives in the Union, who saw in it a possible alternative to the discredited " grey shirts " as the vehicle for their propaganda. The founders of the Ossewa Brandwag had other ideas in mind, however, than the establishment of an organization for the dissemination of German propaganda and the furthering of German aims in South Africa and an early attempt to use it in this way resulted in the resignation of its first " General," Colonel Laas, early in 1940, and in temporarily discrediting the Ossewa Brandwag as well as the Handhawersbond.

7. The danger, however, was evident and General Hertzog took advantage of the opportunity to try to bring the Nationalist section of the Reunited Party to heel by calling on the Provincial Congress of the Orange Free State, the province over which he had exercised unquestioned political control for 30 years—to accept his own more moderate republican programme for the party instead of that issued by the Central Committee of the party under the inspiration of Dr. Malan, the leader of the Nationalist wing. The distinction between the programmes was that General Hertzog's programme pledged equal rights in the future republic to the English-speaking section of the population, and this raised the discussion to the plane of principle, but General Hertzog did not neglect other weapons. He charged the Nationalist leaders in the Orange Free State with spreading a campaign of false rumours about his own sincerity, and he particularly denounced the chief among them, a former Private Secretary of his own, for base calumny. General Hertzog showed all his old political skill in choosing the issue and the field, and the subsequent hushing up of the Commission of Enquiry which the Nationalist Party Central Executive Party felt obliged to appoint lends credence to his charges against Mr. Swart. It was the more striking, therefore, when the Congress voted by a majority for the programme of the Central Committee. General Hertzog at once walked out of the Congress, followed by his supporters and a short while afterwards gave his approval to the formation by them of a separate " Afrikaner " party though he took the opportunity to announce his own retirement from politics. Mr. Havenga followed General Hertzog into retirement and both had the chagrin of seeing the by-elections for their constituencies won by Malanite Nationalist candidates in straight fights with Afrikaner Party candidates.

8. If General Hertzog had miscalculated his chances of success events proved that he had not been under any misconception as to the importance of the issue before the Reunited Party. The victory of the Malanite Nationalists in the Bloemfontein Congress was almost immediately followed by the emergence into the open of the pro-Nazis. Mr. Pirow skilfully exploited his own value to the Nationalist Party, as the last justification for continuing to call itself " Reunited," by insisting, as a condition of not following General Hertzog, on his freedom to preach his " new order " of German type. He spent little time in the House of Assembly during the session of January to May of this year but toured the rural constituencies of the Union indefatigably, addressing audiences which numbered thousands. It was repeatedly reported that the orthodox Nationalists, led by Mr. Strydom, his rival for leadership of the Nationalists in the Transvaal, were about to force a " show-down," and either bring Mr. Pirow to heel or leave the party, but on every occasion so far Dr. Malan has succeeded in avoiding a breach and Mr. Pirow has gone on his energetic way.

9. Mr. Pirow's success has undoubtedly been due to the steadily increasing influence, behind the scenes of the Ossewa Brandwag. This organization was carefully reorganized after the defection of Colonel Laas and made rapid progress when it accepted as its leader the then Administrator of the Orange Free State, Dr. van Rensburg, a lawyer of great ability and political skill. Dr. van Rensburg at once enforced strict discipline on all members of the organization, and so put an end to the beatings-up of opponents which were bringing it into disrepute and were provoking the Government into taking action against them, while, by laying emphasis on its social programme, which appealed to the Afrikaner of the country districts, he steadily increased its membership. Dr. van Rensburg is, moreover, a close friend of Mr. Pirow's, and an early result of his appointment was the dissolution by Mr. Pirow of the Handhawersbond which removed the obstacle which had hitherto prevented the Ossewa Brandwag from giving Mr. Pirow its support and reaping in return the harvest of his " new order " propaganda. The membership of the Ossewa Brandwag six months ago was claimed to be over 300,000 (this figure may well include women and children), and it was stated quite openly that the police and magistrates in the country districts where the Ossewa Brandwag predominates take their orders from the local " General " of the organization, while in many villages closing-down notices were to be seen in the shop windows of the Jewish storekeepers. The membership has steadily increased in the past six months, and the contrast between the increased strength of the Ossewa Brandwag and the bickering and disunion within the Reunited Party is so evident that it was decided at the Party Congress a month ago to reorganize the party on a cell basis and to associate it closely with the Ossewa Brandwag and the Reddingsdaad, an organization formed to enable the Afrikaners to secure control of the economic life of the country. The present position is, therefore, that the Ossewa Brandwag under Dr. van Rensburg, and in close association with Mr. Pirow, appears to have captured the strongest of the old opposition parties and to be rapidly imposing its Nazi forms of discipline upon it. It is not expected that any Nationalist Party members will be renominated in their constituencies when the elections take place without the prior endorsement of the Ossewa Brandwag. But the changes within the Nationalist Party, using the term in its broadest sense, are kaleidoscopic and it would be unduly pessimistic to suppose that the opposition to General Smuts has now closed its ranks and become a united body. There are once more signs of extreme tension between the Parliamentarians, led by Dr. Malan, and, in the Transvaal, by Mr. Strydom, and the totalitarians represented by Mr. Pirow and Dr. van Rensburg, and it remains to be seen whether Dr. Malan will once more swallow the pill in private while in public blandly ignoring the existence of any malady requiring surgical treatment. Moreover, Colonel Lass, the founder of and former leader of the Ossewa Brandwag, who was displaced to make way for Dr. van Rensburg, has just come out in the Press with a strong denunciation of the Nazification of the Movement. He deplores the doctrine of hate, which is so prominent, the division of the churches which has followed and the " muddling interferences of professional politicians, who place selfish ambitions before the welfare of their people." He claims to be about to launch on a large scale a rival organization which already exists in embryo, the " Boernasie," the constitution of which will be published shortly. Colonel Laas will probably cut little ice but his statement well illustrates the " fissiparous tendencies " so long attributed to the Afrikaner Republicans.

10. The attitude of Dr. Malan and Mr. Pirow towards the war is now quite frank. The Reunited Party are to be the fifth column in South Africa ready to take over when the Nazis gain their victory in the north.* (Dr. Malan has recently repeatedly announced that Germany has, for all practical purposes, already won the war.) They state openly that the Germans will allow them complete control of the country on condition of their severing its connexion with the British Empire, and they blindly close their eyes to the example of every other country the German forces have occupied. Dr. van Rensburg is outwardly more cautious. He proclaims in public that the Ossewa Brandwag is

a cultural and social not a political organization, but his views are the same as those of Dr. Malan and Mr. Pirow. Speaking at the University, Cape Town, that is to an audience which was hostile to the Ossewa Brandwag, he was cynically frank. He said " the Afrikaner element in so far as it is behind the Ossewa Brandwag is in a very dangerous temper at the moment. It may or may not get out of hand. But we are anxious to avoid even the semblance of trouble for the simple reason that you now have the guns and we have not." At present there is little likelihood of an attempt at a *coup d'état* by the Ossewa Brandwag, because there is no hope of its being successful, but if there were a real hope they might rise at once. A German victory in North Africa, involving heavy losses to the South African Divisions might well be regarded as the signal for demonstrations of some sort or another.

11. It is for this reason that it is imperative that General Smuts retains in the Union sufficient military forces to deal with any attempt at insurrection. The Third Division of the Union Defence Force—the first and second are in Egypt—is in fact being organized essentially as an internal security force. Its importance can be estimated when it is realised that police force, which is a national one, has for years been recruited from the poorer Afrikaners of the country districts, and that the reliable members of it were organized by their Commandant as a Police Brigade and incorporated by him in the Second Division of the Union Defence Force when he took over command of the latter prior to its departure for the north. Ninety per cent. of the remainder of the police are said to be sympathetic to the Ossewa Brandwag, and to be on bad terms generally with the military forces. The Johannesburg riots of January last were much more Police versus Military than Military versus Ossewa Brandwag.

But if open rebellion is regarded as impracticable or over-risky, there are other and less hectic possibilities such as a concerted " sit down " strike or go-slow policy on the part of all Ossewa Brandwag members. This, even if it could not produce complete paralysis, might greatly impede public administration and the operation of public services and slow down war production. It would be most difficult to take any effective *military* counter action, but there is perhaps some safeguard in the fact that the Trade Unions are solidly behind the Government. It will perhaps not be amiss if I draw attention in this connection to the potential danger arising from the presence in the Union of many thousands of prisoners of war. So far the Union has agreed to receive 60,000 and the present policy is to concentrate them, for ease of guarding and administration in very large camps. They are all trained soldiers and if a camp could be rushed and arms distributed they would provide a very dangerous accession of strength to the Ossewa Brandwag, some of whose members are themselves organized as storm troopers and received para-military training in secret. That this is not a vain suggestion is shown by the fact that one such plot has already been reported to the authorities in connexion with the prisoners of war reception camp at Clairwood, near Durban. And it must also be remembered that the German population of South West Africa numbers over 10,000, and that for seven years before the war they were organized on Nazi party lines, and took, in the words of a report on the administration of South West Africa in 1939 which has just been published, " an oath of unbreakable allegiance to Adolf Hitler and unconditional obedience to the leaders appointed by him."

12. As I have already indicated at the end of paragraph 9 the growth of the Ossewa Brandwag and the tendency of the Nationalist Party to totalitarianism has not taken place without arousing some opposition among influential sections of the Afrikaans-speaking community. Within the ranks of the Opposition it has galvanized the Afrikaner Party into some semblance of life. General Kemp, in the Transvaal, and the late Senator Fourie, in the Cape Province, former members of General Hertzog's Cabinet, decided not to follow General Hertzog out of the Nationalist Party, and only 12 of the former 29 Hertzogite Members of Parliament joined the Afrikaner Party under General Conroy in January of this year. With no leader of any parliamentary capacity the Party took little part in the debates of the last session and forecasts of its early extinction were rife. It was, however, slowly building up a new basis for its independent existence. It proclaimed that it would not hamper in any way the Government's war effort, though it would not participate in it, since South Africa itself was now threatened by the enemy. It emphasized on all occasions that its chief tenet was the equality of all South Africans, Afrikaans- or English-speaking, and its firm adherence to democratic principles and opposition to totalitarianism have given it a definite appeal to those older members of the Dutch Reformed Church who were not prepared to close their eyes to the treatment meted out to the Protestant Church in Germany by the National Socialist Party. The Synod of the Dutch Reformed Church recently denounced totalitarian ideas and their action was followed by an appeal to South Africans by 25 of the most distinguished professors of the fervently Nationalist University of Stellenbosch not to be misled by the new doctrines coming into favour in the Nationalist Party. In consequence the National Congress of the Afrikaner Party which met in Pretoria in June proved to be a far more lively affair than had been expected and was crowned by the very definite success of inducing Mr. Havenga, with General Hertzog's blessing, to come out of retirement and accept the leadership of the Party in the Union.

13. Among the Afrikaans-speaking supporters of the Government, the effect of the tendency of the Nationalist Party to totalitarianism has been to strengthen their conviction that they were right in supporting General Smuts, and not General Hertzog in September, 1939, and there have been no signs at any time that opposition propaganda has had any effect upon them. Approximately half of all in the Union who have volunteered for military service have been Afrikaans-speaking and in war industry, mining, and transport their services have been as readily rendered as those of English-speaking South Africans. In the Government, in Parliament, in the Provincial Councils, and in local politics they are playing a part the importance of which is out of all proportion to their numbers. This is partly due to the strategical importance of their position, holding as they do the balance of power, but it is also due to the prestige and ability of some of their leaders, who include most of the surviving leaders of the Transvaal Republic and the Orange Free State during the Boer War. In addition to General Smuts, there are in the Cabinet, the Deputy Prime Minister, Colonel Denys Reitz, son of a former President of the Orange Free State, Mr. Hofmeyr, the Minister of Finance, the ablest minister after General Smuts, who is a nephew of the great Jan H. Hofmeyr who founded the old Afrikaner Bond, Colonel Commandant Collins, the Minister of Agriculture, Senator Conroy, the Minister of Lands, and Colin Steyn, Minister of Justice and son of yet another

President of the Orange Free State. The most outstanding figure in the economic life of the Union, Chairman of the Iron and Steel Corporation of South Africa, the Electricity Supply Corporation and the Finance and Mining Corporations, and Director-General of War Supplies, Dr. H. S. van der Bijl also belongs to this group. The Chief of the Union General Staff, General Sir Pierre van Ryneveld the Deputy Chief of the General Staff, Brigadier de Waal, the Officers commanding the three divisions of the Union Defence Force, Major-Generals Brink, de Villiers and Botha, the Adjutant-General, Brigadier Beyers (the grandson of President Beyers) the D.G.A.F., Brigadier Venter and the G.S.O.I., First Division, Colonel Joubert (grandson of Commandant-General Joubert who was Commander-in-Chief of the Boer Forces in 1899).

In marked contrast is the Nationalist opposition which, with the single exception of the former Hertzogite, General Kemp, does not number among its leaders one man who even fought for the Boer Republics, let alone led any of their forces. Finally, the Trade Unions, which staunchly support the Government's war effort include many Afrikaans-speaking members and some of the most important of them, for example the Mineworkers' Union, are said to be as much as 90 per cent. Afrikaans-speaking. Few, if any, of these Afrikaners have any sentimental loyalty to the Crown, but they have broken most of their ties with the past, and they co-operate in the convinced belief that the future independence of South Africa can be maintained only by continued membership of the British Commonwealth in a world from which the menace from Nazism has been removed. They are bilingual, and they are seeking to bury the divisions of the past, which have given South Africa today two flags, two anthems, two capitals and two languages. These they replace by a common loyalty to the land of their birth, and to the traditions of liberty for which they or their fathers fought, and by a sober recognition of what is possible in world conditions today which prevents them from being led astray by the nineteenth century mirages on which the Nationalists feast their eyes. And they are helped by the strongest of all influences to co-operation between the two white races in South Africa, intermarriage, which is to-day so usual, that in the larger cities and towns, at any rate, it seems as much the rule as the exception.

The effect of the conviction that a Nazi victory would mean the end of Trades Unionism in South Africa is to be seen in the support which the Labour Party has given to the Government, in the defeat of that Nationalist bid for control of the Mineworkers' Union, and even more dramatically in the smaller incidents which are often brought to one's notice. For example, as Shift Boss on a mine in Johannesburg, the miners in whose shift were 100 per cent. Afrikaners, recently told a member of my staff that a year ago the notice boards at the mine were placarded with notices of meetings of the Ossewa Brandwag organization. At the present time every member of his shift subscribes £2 of his pay each month to the Spitfire Fund or funds for the relief of air-raid victims and others in England.

It is the aim of the present Government and must be the hope of all interested in the future of South Africa that this section of the Afrikaners should continue to increase its numbers and should maintain its present influence on the destinies of the South African people.

14. It is against this background that the Union's war effort, outstanding in itself, shows to even more conspicuous advantage. Already 150,000 men and women are on full time service in the armed forces, all of them volunteers. This out of a total white population of two million with an exceptionally high percentage of children and of whom only some 800,000 are English-speaking, represents, so far as information available here goes, a much larger proportion of the population than those serving in the armed forces of Canada or Australia. In addition, the remainder of the possible two-thirds of the population who are supporting the Government are continuing to run the gold mines at maximum capacity, to expand the coal and iron production of the country not merely to supply its own needs but to supply coal for the Middle East and iron ore for the United Kingdom, have organised new secondary industries to produce a very large proportion of the ordinary needs of the Union and the territories to the north of it in consumption goods, to equip the armed forces in clothing and weapons, to found and develop a munitions industry which is producing small arms ammunition, bombs and shells, mortars, armoured cars, anti-tank guns, howitzers, etc., not only for the South African forces but to supply part of the needs of the other British forces in the Middle East, to assemble and partly manufacture armoured cars and army transport vehicles to the number of 10,000 already, to work its railways and their workshops to a maximum capacity, to deal with the feeding, etc., of large convoys, of troops *en route* to the Middle East, to repair ships, both of the Royal and Merchant Navies and to cope with the great burden thrown on the Union ports by the closing of alternative routes to the Middle East. Stations have been built or are building for an Air Training Scheme the personnel employed in which will soon reach the figure of 25,000, the custody of 60,000 enemy prisoners of war has been accepted and arrangements made for receiving approximately 20,000 evacuee women and children, of whom some 7,000 have already arrived. Details of the Union's war effort on the military and productive sides have been communicated to you and I need not expand this brief summary further, but it is necessary to mention the above facts in order to permit of a correct appreciation both of the value of the South African contribution to the common effort and the grave political difficulties in which this is being made.

15. The whole of South Africa's war effort has only been possible because of the extraordinary prestige, undaunted energy and comprehensive vision of one man—the Prime Minister—it is he who brought South Africa into the war, it is he who has been personally responsible for the recruitment and organization of the South African forces and for their despatch first to Abyssinia and then to the Middle East, and whose control of the whole country is so firm that although his policy has been to allow the opposition the greatest latitude there is no danger of a revolution succeeding except possibly as an eventual consequence of his death or the disappearance of any hope of bringing the war to a successful conclusion. He completely dominates his Cabinet and to a large extent the Opposition also. One of the members of the latter in the House of Assembly, when asked whether he was not going to support General Smuts, stated that his principles would not let him do so, but then added in response to the question what he would do if the enemy threatened South Africa, said "Oh, Jannie Smuts would never let them get here." His Cabinet, although it includes one man of outstanding intellectual ability and others who are of average competence, has in it no one with anything like his power or prestige in the country and the position as regards the succession to him is such that any choice would only be

a *pis aller*. It might be Colonel Reitz as he alone has prestige with all sections of the community, but his health is not good, he is indolent to a fault, and he is no administrator. It is more likely to be Mr. Hofmeyr who has great ability and is a first-class administrator. But he is suspect as a Liberal, particularly as regards native affairs, over-orthodox as a Finance Minister, and commands no real personal following in either the House of Assembly or in the country. Beyond these two there is no one with even a pretence of a claim to succeed. Many of them—Messrs Stallard, Stuttaford and Clarkson—are old men with very mediocre administration capacity or political future. I do not hesitate to say that the maintenance of the Union's war effort at anything like its present level is dependent on the life of General Smuts. It is for this reason that it must be of paramount concern to us to preserve his energies—he is seventy-one—and expose him to no undue strain. It is not too much to say that all who are familiar with conditions in this country tremble with anxiety whenever it is known he has left it and breathe a sigh of relief at his safe return, particularly when he has left on a long trip by air. I feel that I should be remiss in my duty if I did not draw your attention to the danger which is consequent on the frequent calls made upon General Smuts to visit the Middle East by air and still more to visit London. The gains from his presence there are many and obvious, but they cannot, in my view, be in any way commensurate with the very grave risks involved in inviting him to go.

16. To summarize the above very briefly: the existing political situation in this country is one in which two not unequal parties are separated not only by the normal divisions of political opinion usual in a democracy, but by their whole attitude towards the State and the existing order of Society. The one accepts that order and seeks to obtain its aims through the form of democratic parliamentary government; the other rejects democratic government and seeks to establish a new order which, a large section openly admit, is to be a totalitarian one modelled on the Nazi regime in Germany. The one adheres firmly to membership of the British Commonwealth of Nations, the proclaimed object of the other is the establishment of a republic which will sever all ties with that Commonwealth. The one aims at co-operation on an equal basis between the two white races in the Union, the other at domination by the Afrikaans-speaking race in the Union and at the exploitation of the country for its sole benefit. In consequence of this fundamental cleavage of outlook there can be no hope of co-operation between the parties, but the corollary is that General Smuts' majority in the House of Assembly though small is for the moment secure. In consequence there is little likelihood of the Government being overthrown by ordinary means. On the other hand the main consideration which deters a large section of the opposition from using force is that the Government effectively disarmed them by calling in all rifles early in the war, and that in consequence a coup is not likely to succeed unless accompanied by help from without. The hope of the opposition is therefore a German military victory in Africa, or a Japanese cum Vichy control in the Indian Ocean, in which event they would act as an active fifth column in the Union. To prevent this General Smuts must retain in the Union military forces strong enough to crush any attempt at insurrection, and, naturally, ought to retain stronger forces here if the course of the war was going against us in the north, that is at a time when the need for reinforcing the armies in the north would be most urgent. The only other factor which might endanger the stability of the Government is the death of the Prime Minister, and it is for this reason that I have ventured to stress the paramount importance of subjecting him to as few physical risks as possible. If his personal control was removed, there is at present no one with anything approaching the same capacity, character or power of decision to replace him and we might eventually be faced with the break-up of the present Government. On the other hand, for sheer reasons of political self-preservation the various elements in the present Government Coalition would have to stand behind some leader, such as Hofmeyr and this should provide a stabilising factor. It is fairly certain that the supporters of the Government who have given so generously of their men and their women, their energies and their resources to the common war effort would resist, if need be by force, any attempt by a Nationalist Government, if one came into power, to withdraw the Union from the war. Such internecine strife in South Africa could, however, only have the effect of bringing almost to a standstill the Union's war effort and prejudicing the security of our communications with the Middle East and the Far East.

I am intending to follow this despatch with a second chapter, in which I propose to deal with possible future development, such as electoral prospects and the post-war position.

I have, &c.,

HARLECH,

High Commissioner.

G. 91/422.

No. 3.

DESPATCH

from

HIGH COMMISSIONER IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA FOR HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

(Received 3rd March, 1942.)

(South Africa.)

(No. 26, Confidential.)

MY LORD, Cape Town, 28th January, 1942.

On the evening of 22nd January, Dr. D. F. Malan, leader of the "official" Nationalist Opposition, issued to the Press for publication a full draft of a republican constitution for South Africa. It is "to be accepted as an indication of the general views of the Nationalist Party."

2. I am given to understand that this draft constitution was drawn up some time ago, doubtless during the period of negotiations between Dr. Malan and the Pirowites which subsequently broke down and led to the present split, in an attempt by the official Nationalists to appease the "New

Order" group. It is difficult to divine the reason for its publication at this moment, and the only one I can hazard is that it is designed to show how very far Dr. Malan and his party were prepared to go to meet the Pirow wing and so to represent the split created by Pirow and Van Rensburg as a quarrel based on faction and personal ambition rather than on any real differences of policy.

3. But to my mind the significance of the document is the revelation of the degree to which even Dr. Malan has moved during the war into sympathy with Nazi and Fascist ideas as to the desirable form of Government for South Africa in future.

4. The document is of great length—over 8,000 words—and it is only necessary to quote some of its main provisions and to comment thereon. It must be remembered that Dr. Malan is a predikant and a doctor of theology of the strictest Calvinistic and Erastian school. His leadership of the Dutch Reformed Church is almost unchallenged, but his political influence is strongest in the Western Province of the Cape. He is, of course, a narrow racialist who sees in the Afrikaner way of life on the Platteland and in it alone the only right and divinely ordained duty of man. No one doubts his religious sincerity. He sees in the British ways of life, in the Church of England as well as the Roman Catholic in South Africa a perpetual challenge to this fundamentalist outlook, and in politics his greatest antipathy is to the British liberal parliamentary tradition. To him "liberalism" in any kind of thought and more particularly in a liberal attitude to the coloured races is *anathema maranatha*.

5. The preamble of his draft constitution states that the "Republic of South Africa will be established on (1) a Christian National basis recognizing the juridical principles of the Holy Word; (2) the definite course of the national history; and (3) the need for the adaptation of the State to Modern conditions."

The only "flag of the Republic" will be the Vierkleur of the Transvaal but with an orange substituted for the red band in that flag.

The National Anthem will be "Die Stem van Suid Afrika."

As to language, he proposes that "Afrikaans as the language of the original inhabitants is to be the first official language, but English may be regarded as a second official language when such treatment is regarded by the State authority to be in the best interests of the State and its inhabitants."

"Citizenship which confers the franchise will be accorded only to those WHO MAY BE EXPECTED TO ASSIST IN THE BUILDING UP OF THE NATION IRRESPECTIVELY OF THEIR STATUS PREVIOUSLY."

"The head of the republic will be the President who will be directly elected by all the enfranchised citizens and will hold office for five years. He will be directly responsible to the people and independent of any vote in Parliament."

"The Chief Minister and Council of Ministers will be responsible to the President and not to Parliament."

"In times of national emergency the President may suspend the constitution."

"The President may call for a referendum which shall be decisive."

"The people will also be represented by a Volksraad of not more than 150 members, and by a Community Council of fifty members of whom fifteen will be appointed by the President-in-Council and the remainder elected to represent spiritual, economic, social or cultural groups in an advisory capacity."

"Constituencies will be delimited every five years by a commission which may fix the number of voters in Platteland constituencies at 20 per cent. below the quota and in urban constituencies at 20 per cent. above the quota fixed by legislation."

"The President will appoint a full-time official as Administrator of each province and he will have an Advisory Council of not less than five and not more than fifteen members appointed by the President from a list submitted by the members of the Volksraad from the Province concerned."

"Town administration, embracing surrounding districts will be in charge of Mayors appointed as full-time officials who may be dismissed by the Administrator. Mayors will be supported by local ADVISORY Councils."

"Each coloured racial group in South Africa will be segregated not only residentially, but also in the sphere of work and industry."

"Coloured SUBJECTS of the republic will not have the vote or be represented in the Volksraad, but will have self administration in their own sphere according to the degree to which the group is ready for self administration."

"According to the degree of advancement a Coloured Council, an Asiatic Council, a Native Council, etc., will be developed for the whole area of the republic."

"The propagation of any State policy and the existence of any political organization in conflict with the FULFILMENT OF THE CHRISTIAN NATIONAL FORM OF LIFE will be forbidden."

"The republic will recognize the freedom of Churches, PROVIDED THEIR ACTIONS DO NOT DISTURB public order or STATE AUTHORITY."

"The republic must develop a State Bank with the aim of controlling financial affairs for the benefit of the people."

6. The above quotations are sufficient to show the revolutionary character of Dr. Malan's ideas. Democracy in any form is to be eliminated from municipal and provincial administration. All power is to be concentrated in a President irremoveable for five years, and subject to none of the checks and balances either of the American or any real parliamentary constitution.

7. Racial, linguistic, political and cultural discrimination is to apply to Europeans in South Africa as well as Coloured races. The denial of freedom of political organization to all non-Afrikaner nationalists is perhaps the most significant feature of this draft constitution.

8. It is inevitable that the publication of so extreme and tendencious a document outraging the loyalties, interests and feelings of British South Africans at every turn can only have the effect of further accentuating racial bitterness already developed by the anti-war attitude of the opposition and the recent revelations of treasonable conspiracies inside the South African police. The extremer British elements in Natal and the Cape Eastern Province would appear to be justified in the views they have always entertained as to Afrikaner's aims, and this fact will not help the attempts of those loyal followers of General Smuts who work so consistently to bring about better relations between the European races in South Africa.

9. To my mind the only fundamental difference of aim between Dr. Malan and Mr. Pirow is that whereas the former is a determined isolationist and having broken with the British connection and lowered the status of all British South Africans to that of Uitlanders, wishes to preserve South Africa as the spiritual home of Afrikaans-speaking Calvinists, Mr. Pirow would like the protection of and co-operation with the " New Order " States and peoples of Europe.

10. At least Dr. Malan has come out into the open with a clearly defined aim, and henceforth South Africans of all races will know what they are in for in the event of politics so turning out that Dr. Malan and his supporters ever get into power.

11. The document is evidently partly the result of war psychosis and partly of Dr. Malan's and his fellow Afrikaner theologians' conception of the Deity and of the duty of man towards that vengeful tribal God.

12. It is clearly very far beyond General Hertzog's " two stream " policy, and still further from General Smuts' hopes of Unity and Holism. Dr. Malan is still in the intellectual and spiritual atmosphere of the sixteenth century clerical dictatorship of the little city state of Geneva. Every line of the proposed constitution is imminent with " reaction."

13. The statement that " Afrikaans " was the language of the original inhabitants of South Africa shows a disregard for elementary historical truths. It is tragic that in the twentieth century we should be compelled to record this further fantastic example of the " revolt against civilization " and the promulgation in the name of Christianity of conceptions so utterly at variance with the fundamental ethical conceptions of the founder of the Christian religion as to man's duty to his neighbour.

14. It is recorded that when on invitation President Kruger opened the first Jewish Synagogue in Johannesburg some fifty years ago he opened it as a man who declared he had always loved the Bible and had great pleasure in opening the synagogue in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ.

With this somewhat irreverent story I conclude my comments on Dr. Malan's fantastic promulgation.

I have, &c.,

HARLECH,

High Commissioner.

G. 91/430.

No. 4.

DESPATCH

from

HIGH COMMISSIONER IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA FOR HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

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(South Africa.)

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Pretoria, 18th May, 1942.

SIR,

I have the honour to report that the Union Parliament rose on 18th April, after an unusually short session of seventy sitting days. Matters of special interest to the United Kingdom were reported to you by telegram as the session progressed and I do not, therefore, propose in the present despatch to give any very detailed account of Parliamentary proceedings. My aim is rather to give some account of the interplay of personalities and parties and of the balance of political forces. In the course of a subsequent despatch, which is now in preparation, I shall attempt the more ambitious task of analysing the forces which may be expected to have a determining influence on future political developments of the Union. The subjects of the present despatch will be discussed under the headings:—

(A) The Cabinet.
(B) The Government Coalition.
(C) The Opposition Groups.

(A) THE CABINET.

2. The great figure of the Prime Minister again completely dominated the Parliamentary session. He was assiduous in attendance when the burden of administration might well have provided him with legitimate excuse for staying away; and his singlemindedness, magnanimity and disdain for personal attacks confirmed him in an ascendency of character and intellect that is approached by no one else in this country. His self-control is proof against the attacks of ignorance and malignancy; and he is most effective in debate. It is a mark of his greatness that in nearly three years of war he has never relaxed his faith in the ultimate victory of moral principles; and yet there are few with a shrewder and more realistic grasp of all the elements of a military or political situation. His intervention on more than one occasion was effective in correcting the eager defeatism of

Dr. Malan's pronouncements on the prospects of the war; and he was merciless in his chastisement of Opposition speakers who were only too ready to draw from the defeat at Singapore the material for malicious prophecies of Britain's inability to help South Africa. It was noticeable, however, that on no occasion during the session did the Prime Minister give the House on his own initiative any survey of the war situation " from the South African angle "; and there were unfavourable comparisons, openly expressed by the Opposition, between the Prime Minister's treatment of the House in this regard and the surveys of war given in secret and even open session to their respective Parliaments by Mr. Churchill and successive Australian Prime Ministers. The fact is, of course, that General Smuts is rightly conscious of the impossibility of disclosing confidential information even in secret session, to a House which contains a number of Members openly hoping for a German victory; and on one occasion, in reply to a complaint by Dr. Malan he explained this consideration with much force.

3. Mr. Hofmeyr, as in previous sessions, was in charge of the day-to-day business of the House of Assembly. This is a duty he discharged with his customary intellectual ability. Ready and effective in debate, with a quite extraordinary grasp of detail, he handled Government business with despatch and was, indeed, responsible for the conduct through all stages of no less than twenty out of the forty-two Government measures which were translated into law. His share included Finance Bills which introduced important changes into the tax structure of the Union and made provision of £80 million for war expenditure, as well as such measures as the Banking Bill, the War Pensions Bill and a Bill providing for compulsory insurance of motor vehicles against third party risk. Mr. Hofmeyr's task was certainly lightened by the absence of effective criticism from the Opposition, whose chief spokesman on financial matters, Mr. Werth (a former Administrator of South West Africa) combines an engaging volubility and assurance with the most striking ignorance of the mechanism as well as the principles of public finance. The exemption from effective opposition, however, has its dangers: Mr. Hofmeyr, who has attained middle-age without quite losing the manner of the infant prodigy, succumbed only too easily to the temptation to demonstrate a needless virtuosity. He lectured the House on the principles of finance and explained with infinite patience, but sometimes not without zest, the elementary errors into which Mr. Werth had fallen. More than once there was discernible a note of bland surprise that a budget so perfect in its symmetry, so ingenious in its details should be the subject of vulgar criticism. In a Budget whose whole emphasis was directed on the means for raising as cautiously and painlessly as possible the funds needed for the prosecution of the war, there was little sign of concessions to the growing interest in social welfare. Once again, to the disappointment of the natives and of those Europeans interested in their conditions of life, the Budget made no provision for proceeding with the scheme of native land purchase. General Hertzog himself, in 1936, had promised that a sum of £10,000,000 would be devoted to land purchase within five years; this period has now elapsed, less than £5,000,000 has been spent and only 40 per cent. of the land released for native occupation has been acquired by the Native Trust. Compared with the failure to proceed with native land purchase, Mr. Hofmeyr's provision of an additional £230,000 for native education by means of an adjustment in the percentage of the native tax devoted to this purpose, seems of small account. It will make possible the payment of a cost of living allowance to native teachers and a slight increase in the salaries of the poorer teachers: but it will not be enough to raise these salaries even to the level of a tolerable " living wage ".

Even on war expenditure Mr. Hofmeyr proved determined that the cost of Civil Protective Services (Air Raid Precautions) should remain on the shoulders of the individual Municipalities and private enterprise rather than the central exchequer.

His aim is to build up the financial strength and reserves of South Africa, to repatriate all external loans, with a view to exalting the financial power of the Union after the war.

4. Colonel Deneys Reitz showed once again by his inactivity that his title of Deputy Prime Minister is more honorific than an indication of function; but he made speeches both in the House and the Senate, in his capacity as Minister of Native Affairs, which confirmed him in an increasing reputation for liberality of mind on this subject. In the Senate he strongly criticised the Native Pass laws in the Transvaal and the Orange Free State which in the three years 1939-41 had been responsible for 270,000 convictions for technical offences. This, he said, was an appalling indictment: there was no question of social or civil responsibility " in our time " but it was the duty of every European to deal justly with the native and not to create the idea in his mind that he was no more than a beast of burden. He intended raising the matter in the Cabinet and, in the meanwhile, would ask the Minister of Justice to instruct the police not to make arrests unless there were reasonable grounds for suspecting that an offence of substance had been committed. On another occasion he warned the country that the " rising tide of Bantu nationalism " could no longer be ignored: one native newspaper alone had a circulation of 65,000, and without improvements in their standard of living and general treatment the native people would be fertile ground for the agitator.

5. Mr. Sturrock, an administrator with conservative financial ideas, found highly gratifying a surplus on the State railways of more than £6,000,000, which he promptly hid away in reserve funds. He had already made some concessions to the crying needs of the railway administration's native and coloured casual labourers by extending to them the provisions of a new pensions regulation; but it was disappointing, in view of his previous acknowledgment of the need for a rise in native wages, that he did nothing to remove the reproach that the Government, from the standpoint of wages, is among the worst industrial employers of native labour in the country. He had to his credit a Bill designed to control abuses in the hire-purchase system, which he saw through the House with some skill. But, in view of the widespread evils that obtain in the abuse of the hire-purchase system in South Africa, it is doubtful whether this new Act can be regarded as more than a tentative beginning.

6. Mr. Lawrence, the Minister of the Interior and of Public Health, showed signs of staggering under a burden which would have tested the endurance of a Minister of much greater natural capacity. He fumbled badly in his reply to the growing agitation for a State medical service, and his recourse to the appointment of " yet another Commission of Inquiry " did nothing to raise the Government's reputation for enthusiasm in the cause of social improvement in this respect. It fell to him to introduce

the complicated Bill for the " denaturalization " of Germans who had automatically received Union nationality as a result of the Acts of 1924 and 1928; his speech, however, on the second reading was so confused and he had so patently not mastered his brief that there was much adverse comment. It is his misfortune that as the responsible Minister he has had to bear the brunt of the criticism of the Government's failure to give a lead to the local authorities in the institution of measures for the protection of the civil population against attack from the air or sea. Moreover, as Minister in charge of internment camps, he has incurred the factitious odium of the Opposition for the Government's " repressive policy " directed against subversive Afrikaners. In this connexion, indeed, it is enough to say that no impartial observer can fail to be surprised by the almost incredible leniency which the Government had displayed towards elements in the population which actively desire the victory of the enemy; but its obstinate refusal to invest Opposition leaders with the halo of martyrdom is now showing its results in the divisions and internecine conflicts that make a mockery of " Afrikaner unity."

7. Mr. Madeley, as the leader of the exiguous Parliamentary Labour Party, has succeeded once again in exacting a price for his support of the Government—this time in the shape of the Rents Bill, which is designed to protect tenants against the more grasping kind of landlord. Colonel Stallard, the leader of the Dominion Party, held high the standard of constitutional pedantry and caused a minor Cabinet crisis over the recommendation of the Law Advisers that " State lands " should be substituted for the usual " Crown lands " in the Base Metals Bill in order to bring the wording into conformity with the Status Act. This change, said the Minister, could be made only over his dead body; and there was a moment when it appeared as though Mr. Sturrock intended to force the issue to the point of Colonel Stallard's resignation. In the end the latter won his point; but it is believed that the Prime Minister has expressed his impatience with Colonel Stallard's " obstructionism " and clearly hinted at its possible consequences of extrusion into outer darkness. It may be said in passing that the explicit acceptance of the right of secession as a part of Dominion status in the recent declaration of British policy in India came as an unpleasant shock to Colonel Stallard and his colleagues of the Dominion Party.

8. Dr. Colin Steyn will be mentioned below in connexion with the continuing speculation about the ultimate succession to General Smuts. Of the other Ministers it is perhaps enough to say that Mr. Stuttaford once again presented a spectacle of physical and mental helplessness in Parliament and of sad and aged administrative indecisiveness without; Colonel Collins, the Minister of Agriculture, was forced after a lengthy defensive action to concede to the farmers a higher price for wheat and is now faced with a serious shortage of food against which he has taken but tardy action; and that Senator Conroy, the Minister of Lands, continues to be a demagogic liability to the Government.

9. While the Prime Minister's authority and prestige as head and front of the Union's war effort are more firmly established than ever and his leadership of the pro-Government forces is unchallenged, it is inevitable that many men even outside the narrower circles of politics should be speculating about the identity of his successor when the time comes for him to retire. Fortunately, there is no reason to fear that such a necessity will arise before the end of the war: at seventy-two, General Smuts is a superb combination of physical and intellectual energy. But it is likely that he will consider his task ended as soon as he can safely lay down his great responsibilities after the conclusion of the war. Up to a few months ago Mr. Hofmeyr seemed to be the most likely candidate for the succession: although the day had long gone by when it appeared as if he would become the leader and the embodiment of progressive forces in South Africa, he was nevertheless the ablest Parliamentarian and departmental administrator on the Government side and his position was strengthened by the absence of any obvious rival. True, there were those who have again spoken of Mr. Havenga as an Afrikaner who would be acceptable to the English-speaking section when once the passions of war had subsided in the weariness and forgetful disposition of the post-war world. But Mr. Havenga went too far in his headstrong opposition to the war effort and he missed the great opportunity afforded by the entry of Japan on the side of his country's enemies to recant his views. A despairing attempt was made on behalf of the mining interests of Johannesburg during the session to persuade General Smuts to rehabilitate him by taking him into the Cabinet, at what price in Mr. Havenga's firmly held convictions it is not known; but the approach was summarily rejected and he has since spent his time in spinning, in the name of his exiguous Afrikaner Party, indecisive formulæ which condemn in principle South Africa's continued participation in the war yet nevertheless place no obstacle in the way of any of his followers who feel bound to join in the defence of the country against a possible attack.

10. The latest session of Parliament, however, saw the appearance of a rival contender for leadership in the person of the Minister of Justice, Dr. Colin Steyn. He is no intellectual match for Mr. Hofmeyr in debate or administration; but he is unrivalled on the Government side in the arts of the politician. If Mr. Hofmeyr is the nephew of the famous leader of the Afrikaner Bond in the old Cape Parliament, Dr. Steyn is the son of the last President of the Free State republic. He learnt the trade of politics from the late Mr. Tielman Roos, whose dramatic resignation from the Appeal Court in 1932 to lead the agitation against the gold standard resulted in the abandonment of gold and the formation of the Fusion Government. Against the intractable orthodoxy of Mr. Hofmeyr he opposes the more humane opportunism of a politician whose business it is to place himself at the head of popular trends, and not to withstand them. In this connexion there is undoubted significance in the recent formation of a close alliance between the (European) Mineworkers' Union and himself, cemented by the passage of a Bill under his auspices abolishing civil imprisonment in cases of debt and openly proclaimed at the annual luncheon of the Union in Johannesburg recently when speakers referred to him as " Comrade " Steyn. Moreover, in a recent issue of the Labour Party's weekly, *Forward*, an article signed by the Secretary of the Union for the first time in print seriously raised the question of the ultimate succession to General Smuts:—" His enemies say that he is a bit of a Socialist—as if that were a grievous disqualification in 1942: but no one denies that Colin Steyn is a true friend of progress or that he is the champion of the weak and the oppressed . . . There was a time when Mr. Hofmeyr seemed a certain winner of the race; but things have changed considerably in the past two years, and there is no doubt that, on a caucus vote to-day, Colin Steyn would get ninety per cent. of the United Party behind him if it came to a choice for the Premiership. His popularity

grows with every session. He is approachable, sympathetic and understanding. When deputations wait on Mr. Hofmeyr they generally get a lecture on text book economics (most of which is hopelessly out of date) . . . Dr. Steyn is, above all, a friend of the workers. Ever since his association with the late Tielman Roos, he has realized that the cause of racialism in South Africa is poverty and economic inequality. For two years he has been trying to get the United Party to go in for a radical economic policy, but so far the reactionary elements have succeeded in frustrating him . . . The mineworkers of the Union will help to fashion events in his favour. In him they see the only possible successor to the ' Oubaas '—the only man who can set South Africa on the highroad of social and economic reorganization and economic regeneration."

11. It is clear that financial orthodoxy and the profession of liberal principles with regard to the Indian section of the coloured population (which, however, as Minister of Finance, he has done little enough to implement) have not contributed to increase Mr. Hofmeyr's popularity among the organized European workers. Since it is from the Witwatersrand that he draws his main support, the attitude of the mineworkers has an obvious bearing on his prospects; and it is also worth recording in this connexion that, if Mr. Mervyn Ellis, Editor of the *Natal Mercury*, is to be believed, it appears that influential groups in Natal are turning towards Dr. Steyn in preference to Mr. Hofmeyr. The latter, for his part, does not appear to be unduly perturbed about these manifestations of public opinion. He despises demagogy and has a profound belief in his ability which, in his view, will make him indispensable to the United Party when it is confronted with the necessity of choosing a new leader.

12. An English observer, accustomed as he is to frequent changes in the membership of Cabinets, is bound to be struck by the fact that in nearly three years of its existence the present Union Cabinet has undergone no changes whatever. The truth is that with the Prime Minister's predominance as pronounced as it is, individual Ministers of the United Party have little political significance: they are nothing but the Prime Minister's administrative assistants. With the increasing impact of war conditions on the Union, however, it is inevitable that weaknesses in administration should be exposed. Two Ministers especially, Mr. Stuttaford and Colonel Collins, are being criticised for their handling of the growing commodity and food shortages respectively; and during the Session there was talk, not denied by the Prime Minister's closest adviser, Mr. Esselen, of impending changes in the Cabinet involving the retirement of these two Ministers. It has now been decided that any comprehensive changes will be postponed to next year. Efforts are nevertheless being made to persuade Mr. Stuttaford (whose health is far from good) to retire, but so far without success.

(B) THE GOVERNMENT COALITION.

13. The cohesion of a coalition government frequently varies in direct proportion with the effectiveness of the opposition which confronts it. Such at least, is the experience of the Union Government in nearly three years of war. Side by side with the progressive deterioration of the Opposition there have appeared cracks in the facade of the combination of parties which supports the Government in Parliament. These cracks are not important in themselves: they do not in any way threaten the Government's majority on fundamental questions connected with the war effort, but they are indications of strains and stresses beneath the surface. Parties are beginning to think in terms of the post-war world and even now to set their sails to catch the winds of popular favour. The Labour Party, for example, with a representation of only four in the House of Assembly (including Mr. Madeley, its representative in the Cabinet) is acutely conscious of the fact that after the last war it had no fewer than 24 members of the House of Assembly and that there is a possibility that this achievement may be repeated, or even bettered, by taking advantage of the emotional " climate " which is expected to prevail throughout the world at the conclusion of the present war. Mr. Madeley has to his credit as Minister of Labour and Social Welfare, certain measures of practical social benefit, among them the Rents Act and the Act extending the benefits of the Workmen's Compensation Act to new classes of workers. There is, nevertheless, a group of younger members of the Labour Party in the country which would like the Party to withdraw from the Government coalition and thus free its hands for more effective propaganda and criticisms of the Government's lack of social policy. Any movement of this kind will certainly be strongly opposed by Mr. Madeley.

14. On the right wing of the coalition is the Dominion Party, with a group of nine Members of Parliament led by Colonel Stallard, the Minister of Mines. This party has shown itself to be thoroughly reactionary not only in its approach to constitutional questions but also in its opposition to all measures of social reform, however mild. In the session under review, it fought at every stage, the Rents Bill sponsored by Mr. Madeley and a private Bill sponsored by the Labour-dominated City Council of Durban to empower the Durban Corporation to establish a Municipal Savings Bank, (on the model of the Birmingham Savings Bank), the deposits in which, would be used to encourage the building of houses. The latter had been approved by a Select Committee of the House and had been given Government time by Mr. Hofmeyr; but Colonel Stallard nevertheless spoke against it and the Dominion Party's opposition on behalf of the building societies was so vigorously sustained that it succeeded in playing out time. It is known that the Labour and Dominion Parties (who have not entered into an election truce as between themselves) are now busily engaged in contesting each other's position in the Natal constituencies.

15. The little group of three representatives of the Cape native population exerted an influence out of all proportion to its size. While committed to general support of the Government and especially of its war policy, these representatives have nevertheless a freedom from party discipline which they turned to very good account. They are led by Mrs. Ballinger, who is a graduate of Somerville at Oxford and a former teacher of history at the Witwatersrand University. She is one of the best speakers in the House and has no rival in the House for grasp of economic principles and their application to social policy. The representatives of the natives have maintained an exemplary vigilance for the interests of their constituents and have missed no opportunity of drawing the attention of the House and of public opinion in the country generally to matters in which administration presses hardly upon the native population or in which natives are subjected to so many unfavourable discriminations as, for example, in the new Military Pensions Act. Their work

behind the scenes as a goad to Ministers has had practical effects on policy and their educative influence on public opinion is not the least of the factors which are inducing in the public mind a somewhat more enlightened interest in native welfare.

16. The United Party, which forms the main mass of the Government coalition, has nearly half the total members of the House in its ranks. Over the fundamental issue of the war it never wavered in determination or in unity; but in the latest session there became apparent, only faintly discerned at the time, but obviously of importance for the future, signs of internal disharmonies. The truth is that the United Party is a conglomeration of diverse " interests " united only in its loyalty to General Smuts and its determination to prosecute the war to the end. In its ranks are hard-bitten Afrikaner farmers whose admiration for General Smuts has led them into a patently uneasy association with the spokesmen of the mining and financial interests of the Rand, and the rentiers of Cape Town. Representatives of the rising power of manufacturing industry (who are even now beginning to clamour for high customs tariffs to prevent the " evil of dumping " after the war) maintain a constant tug-of-war against the mining interests (for whom increasing customs duties mean the bugbear of rising costs); the townsman views with bitterness the enormous blackmail in subsidies and price levies and other price raising measures which the platteland manages to extort from a Government fearful of the farmers' vote; and finally representatives of working class constituencies rub shoulders with the spokesmen of the " capitalists." In the circumstances it can be readily understood that the movement of the United Party towards a more progressive social policy is retarded by formidable inertia. The Prime Minister who does not naturally think in terms of radical social progress, succumbed some months ago to the persuasion of his advisers and outlined at a Party congress the terms of a new " social charter." But his speech had little effect on the thinking of the party and it did not succeed in bringing into being any vigorous progressive movement within its ranks. Mr. Hofmeyr, his chief lieutenant, moreover, exerts his whole influence against the making of " promises " which the condition of the Treasury after the war might prevent him from carrying out: it is clear that his attitude is conditioned by the most narrow principles of financial " orthodoxy ". It is indeed difficult to see how the United Party as at present constituted can hope for any prolonged survival in the difficult conditions of the post-war world.

(C) THE OPPOSITION GROUPS.

17. The session saw the Opposition parties plunged into a more considerable confusion and internecine conflict than at any time since the war began. The session of 1941 had witnessed the secession of ten Hertzogite members of the House of Assembly from the party led by Dr. Malan. These were moderates who were moved partly by a personal grievance at the treatment which General Hertzog and Mr. Havenga had received at the hands of the Nationalists with whom they had thrown in their lot at the outbreak of war, and partly by genuine distrust of the racial and republican extremists who seemed to be obtaining control of the Nationalist Party. The latest session was to witness the culmination of the long feud between Mr. Pirow and the Nationalist Party leaders.

18. At the Nationalist Party congress in Pretoria last August, Mr. Pirow was warned that if he continued his national-socialist propaganda within the party and the formation of a separate group he would be punished by expulsion. He immediately responded by announcing the formation of a " New Order " group composed of himself and sixteen other Members of Parliament. Dr. Malan, who had been given plenary powers to deal with breaches of party discipline and was being egged on by his chief lieutenants to use them, thereupon pusillanimously drew back: the secession of nearly a third of his supporters in Parliament would be too big a price for the pleasure of throwing Mr. Pirow out of the Party. When Parliament met it was clear that the feud would at last be brought to an issue. The rival leaders spent the first few days manœuvring for position. Dr. Malan, as leader of the Opposition, came forward not with the conventional motion of no confidence in the Government, but with a republican motion so worded as to embarrass the Pirow group. The republic would not be founded on " any foreign model," but built up in accordance with purely Afrikaner national character and traditions. Despite the reservation of " equal language and cultural rights " to both sections of the white community it was apparent from the speeches of Dr. Malan and his principal lieutenants that the price of the English-speaking sections for admission to any rights whatever would be the acceptance of Afrikaner domination in every sphere of South African public life. Mr. Pirow evaded the implied challenge in the motion by declaring that his group, which would henceforth be independent of the Nationalist caucus, would support the motion; and he made his debut as an independent leader with a short and unimpressive speech denying that his " New Order " programme was in any way based on the German model; on the contrary, if a foreign model had to be sought for it, it was inspired more by Dr. Salazar than by Hitler. He paid a glowing tribute to Dr. Salazar, both for his internal and external policy.

19. In the next few weeks Mr. Pirow bent his energies to the task of forming a united front with the Ossewa Brandwag under the auspices of General Hertzog, who, in his role of the seer of Afrikanerdom, was preparing another portentous pronouncement on the need for national socialism, combined with an appeal to Afrikaners to be done with party quarrels and to form a " core of unity " under his leadership. Mr. Pirow's efforts have, however, not borne much fruit. General Hertzog is discredited and his treachery to his own principles of race co-operation is resented even by the most loyal of his former followers who had broken away from the Nationalists in order to form a party dedicated to the maintenance of " Hertzogism "; and Mr. Pirow himself is distrusted by the Ossewa Brandwag as an opportunist who wishes to exploit the movement for his own purposes. The Ossewa Brandwag, moreover, is suffering as a result of less overt activity and the deferment of its hopes to an indefinite future. Mr. Pirow missed no opportunity of demonstrating his contempt for Parliament; and his sole contribution of any consequence to its proceedings was a motion denouncing Communism in South Africa as a menace to property rights, religion and the proper relationship between white and black. Dr. Malan, for his part, was much more absorbed in the prosecution of his private quarrel with Mr. Pirow and the Ossewa Brandwag than in the proper discharge of his functions as leader of the Opposition; and his hatred of his rivals more than once betrayed him into blunders that subjected him to ridicule and undermined his authority with many members of his own party.

20. The Nationalist Party's attitude towards the war is explicable only on the assumption that they expect a British victory. The Pirow-Ossewa Brandwag axis have openly staked their all on a German victory and clearly look upon themselves as the prospective agency of German rule in this country. As a consequence the earlier enthusiasm of the Nationalists for Germany has vanished. They are coming to understand that they have no future except as a Parliamentary party within the democratic system. In the war years, however, their performance has been deplorable. Committed as they are to a narrow isolationism, they are prevented from fulfilling the Opposition's function in a war Parliament of directing the searchlight of constructive criticism on defects of administration. They have sought an escape from their frustration in endless and varying definitions of a republic they may never attain and contrived to wrap the deliberations of Parliament in an atmosphere of political unreality. The Japanese threat (while it appears for the moment to have abated) has introduced a new factor into the political situation. Nationalist propagandists may declare that if there is a threat it is the direct result of the Government's entangling the Union in the quarrels of the Great Powers; but it is clear that an attack on South African territory will arouse in a considerable proportion of Nationalists a patriotism freed at last from the shackles of inherent anti-British feeling.

21. The contingency of a Japanese attack upon South African territory led General Smuts to say that if necessary he would put arms in the hands of non-Europeans of the Union to assist in the defence of the country. The Opposition at once took this up and made it the principal plank in their platform at a series of by-elections (Provincial and Parliamentary) that coincided with the last weeks of the session. The " Synodal Commission " of the Dutch Reformed Church in session at Pretoria at once passed the following resolution:—

> " The principle of arming non-Europeans is contrary to the constitution and principles of the Word of God, which is based on racial separateness and the principle of trusteeship of Europeans as against non-Europeans. The arming of non-Europeans is contrary to the traditions of the Afrikaner people. The policy of Christian Governments in the Union when involved in war has always been to use the services of natives and coloureds in purely subordinate and menial capacities."

It may be difficult for citizens of the United Kingdom, whose Biblical exegesis can find no warrant in fact or history for the pontifical assurances of the Dutch Reformed Church of South Africa as to the character of the Word of God, to comprehend the peculiar fundamentalism which is still dominant in Afrikaner religion. The Dutch Reformed Church in Holland has never seen objections to the arming of coloured persons in the Dutch East Indies. In the British Indian and Colonial Empires Indian, African and Malay troops have been armed and acquitted themselves with loyalty and military distinction. This episode in the history of South Africa at the end of the recently concluded Parliamentary session is one more bit of evidence of the gulf which separates the Afrikaner from the British and European Dutch mind on their fundamental attitude to the Asiatic and African races. Neither a world war, nor the growth and development of modern ideas make the slightest impression on the hard core of negrophobia and Indophobia which are still so dominant among so large a proportion of the enfranchised citizens of the Union of South Africa.

22. Under the Constitution of South Africa laid down in the South Africa Act of 1910 there is no provision for the constitutional extension of the life of Parliament beyond five years without amendment of the South Africa Act. The redelimitation of constituencies on the basis of the census held last year is now being undertaken by the necessary commission set up in accordance with statutory requirements under the Chairmanship of Mr. Justice Lansdown. The report of its findings will not be available till October. Unless special legislation is introduced next session to prevent it, a general election must take place in South Africa in May next year, on the basis of the newly distributed seats. The decision whether to hold the general election or amend the Constitution will no doubt depend on the war situation next April as well as on the accidents of political opportunism at that time.

I have, &c.,

HARLECH,

High Commissioner.

G. 91/434.

No. 5.

DESPATCH

from

HIGH COMMISSIONER IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA FOR HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

(Received 25th September, 1942.)

(South Africa.)

(No. 304, Secret.)

Pretoria, 29th August, 1942.

SIR,

For some time since my arrival in the Union the need has been apparent to me of supplementing the despatches and telegrams on political affairs which are sent at fairly frequent intervals from this post with a more general analysis of the political background. In particular I have felt that an account should be given of the forces (some of them thrown into prominence by present conditions) which are likely to influence the future political development of South Africa. Under the impact of war the social structure of the Union is in the midst of significant changes. The apparent equilibrium of the prosperous pre-war years is being overthrown; rifts which were discernible on the surface have

widened into fissures; and in many fields ideas and principles which seemed almost part of the natural order are now being called violently into question. The conflict between the two sections of the white population has been stimulated to a new intensity; but even now it is becoming overshadowed in the minds of thinking men by the progressive awakening of the non-European peoples. If this despatch has grown to an inordinate length I must plead in mitigation that it is impossible in a country of such complexity as this to set out anything like a true and balanced picture within the narrow limits dictated by convenience. I have accordingly divided my subject into the following sections which indicate the aim I have set myself:—

(A) Introduction.
(B) Background of Afrikaner Nationalism.
(C) Nationalism and the War.
(D) The Political Opposition.
(E) The English-speaking People.
(F) The Immediate Political Conflict.
(G) Bantu, Cape Coloured and Indians.

(A) INTRODUCTION.

2. The development of the Union is regarded by the dominant school of South African historians and by the great majority of the white population as the story of the conquest of the wilderness, the beating down of "black barbarism," and the building of a "White South Africa." Until the Great Trek just over a century ago initiated the dispersion of the European population through the interior uplands, contacts between white and black had been limited to the border districts of the Eastern Cape. Here European farmers impelled by chronic land hunger and impatience with Government control from Cape Town came into conflict with the Bantu tribes moving southwards down the coastal belt under the pressure of Zulu "aggression." Such racial problems as had earlier existed had sprung from the presence of a coloured population descended from European settlers and Malay slaves and Hottentots; but the coloured people had never threatened to outnumber the Europeans, and by 1828 an ordinance promulgated by the British Administration had given them the rights of equal citizenship and struck a powerful blow at the efforts that were being made locally to reduce them to a servile status. It seemed then as if the way was open for their assimilation by the European society; and it has been left for the morbid racial consciousness of recent years finally to destroy that liberal prospect, and once again to emphasise the separateness of the coloured people and their partial exclusion from citizen rights.

3. The Great Trek, the core round which has developed the whole of the Afrikaner folk-myth, was an attempt to outflank the southward-moving Bantu; but its effect was vastly to extend the frontiers of racial contact. Henceforth the main theme of South African development was not the growth of a settlement of Europeans but of a wholly new and unique society of different races and cultural attainments, fashioned by conflicts of racial heredity and the opposition of unequal social groups. For the best part of a hundred years the Europeans have sought to build up a stable and prosperous "White South Africa" on the basis of cheap native labour; but the existence of a poor white population of 400,000 submerged beneath the level of tolerable existence is the measure of their failure. While other Dominions received a fruitful flow of immigration, the stream of immigrants that was needed to give the exiguous white population of South Africa the self-confidence bred of numbers passed the country by: in a country where the unskilled work in towns and countryside was the monopoly of the native there was little to attract the type of British immigrant who found a new freedom and breadth of opportunity in Australia and New Zealand. South Africa's immigrants were, in fact, mainly the Bantu; and by the time that the discovery of diamonds and of gold first gave an impetus to a backward agricultural economy white and black were already far on the way to a new society in which both elements were bound together in the most intimate of economic relationships. On the one hand Bantu tribal society has been progressively shattered by the impact of European economy and the methods of native administration adopted by Governments; on the other, the whole development of the white man's social system has been determined more than any one factor by its dependence on cheap native labour. The mutual dependence of white and black in South Africa is a fact which deserves the most persistent emphasis just because the prevailing European policies and aspirations are still based on the impracticable assumption that it is possible to build up a white South Africa independent of the Bantu population which outnumbers it by almost five to one. The contending sections of the dominant white population still imagine that they can afford the luxury of internecine quarrel; but, if one thing is certain, it is that the problem of the relations between Boer and Briton will be as nothing compared with the obstinacy and danger of the problem that will arise when the white people of this country in the not distant future are confronted by the effective pressure of the non-European people for their rightful opportunities in the political and the economic spheres.

4. But if in the long view it is almost true to say that the only problem that matters has to do with the economic and political place to be occupied by the Bantu in the social structure of the Union, effective political and physical power still rests in the hands of the contending white groups; and in the vital post-war years it will be the European population alone that will decide the Union's attitude towards the British Commonwealth and the world at large. For this reason it is obviously of prime importance to analyse the forces that will influence the policies of the dominant white population. In the paragraphs that follow I shall describe in some detail the relationships between the Afrikaans and English-speaking groups of white South Africa and the tendencies that may decide the issue of present political differences; this will be followed in a concluding section by a general account of the present condition of the Bantu, the Cape Coloured and the Indian population of the Union and of the factors that are influencing their relationship with the Europeans who dominate the social and political structure.

(B) THE BACKGROUND OF AFRIKANER NATIONALISM.

5. The European population of the Union was estimated by the census authorities in 1940 to be 2,250,000. Of this total 40 per cent. gave their home language as English, and 56 per cent. declared it to be Afrikaans. Only 2·5 per cent. used English and Afrikaans indiscriminately. These figures are not an accurate guide to racial origins, since the figure in English-speaking section includes large numbers of South Africans, of Dutch or Huguenot descent, especially in the long-settled Western Cape, who became Anglicised in the early days of British rule before an Afrikaner nationalism was heard of. Well-known examples of this tendency are the Van der Byl's, the Cloete's, the le Mesurier's, the du Toit's and some branches of the great de Villiers clan. Examples of the reverse tendency are much harder to come by and it is clear that English, as a dominant world culture throughout the formative period of South African history, has attracted vastly more adherents than it has lost to the youthful and aggressive Afrikaner culture. Afrikaner families, such as Conroy, Collins (both represented in the present Cabinet) and Breliner are descended in the main from Irishmen, Scots and Englishmen who had made their homes in the Boer republics before the South African War and loyally did their duty as burghers of those republics. Moreover, among the English-speaking population are included the Jews, who now number no less than 100,000, or nearly five per cent. of the total European population.

6. If, however, language does not wholly coincide with race, it is the language division that cuts across the whole of South African life. It obtrudes itself most of all in the cultural and political spheres (which in recent years have come near to overlapping) and in religion, commerce and even sport. With the rise of an exclusive and fanatical Afrikaner nationalism, the English-speaking people would before this have been reduced to the position of a disgruntled racial minority had not it been able to enlist the constant support of a section of moderate Afrikaans-speaking people who have turned the balance in the English-speaking section's favour. The census figures disclose a total of about 950,000 English-speaking South Africans as compared with 1,300,000 Afrikaners. But whereas the English-speaking section maintains an almost unbroken solidarity for major political purposes, it has been estimated by an acute observer that at least 300,000 Afrikaners are supporters of General Smuts and the principle of racial co-operation; while the upholders of Afrikaner racial domination are split into numerous factions by ambitious führers contending for the leadership of a "united Afrikanerdom" which has never achieved a semblance of unity.

7. In a recent leading article *Die Volksblad*, the Nationalist organ in Bloemfontein, declared that "the fact is tragic but true that the relationship between the two white races is to-day, after thirty years of Union and forty years of peace between Boer and Briton, infinitely worse than in the years immediately following the 'War for Freedom'." It went on to blame the "jingoism" of the British who, not content with the conciliatory attitude of Generals Botha and Smuts, had set out to dominate the country and had fought with the utmost bitterness all advances of the Afrikaner towards political and cultural freedom. This deterioration of relations between Boer and Briton in recent years, and especially during the present war, is evident to everyone. But *Die Volksblad* is taking a professedly partial view when it throws the blame on the English-speaking people. There is equal truth in the bitter gibes from the English-speaking side at the intransigent nationalism which parades a sympathy with Germany and openly states its desire to establish a republic in South Africa in which full citizen rights would be confined to a group chosen according to a most rigorous code of racial and linguistic qualifications.

Cultural Incompatibility.

8. The causes of the present bitterness must be sought in the history of South Africa during the past century and a half and in the cultural incompatibility of two races with vastly different backgrounds. The early years of British rule in the Cape are remembered as the time when a "foreign" Government, representing the liberal spirit then awakening in Europe, set about subverting the established social relationships in its distant possession at the Cape by the freeing of the slaves, the promulgation of ordinances which gave the rights of free men to the Cape Coloured population and by allowing the representatives of the London Missionary Society to preach the what seemed to them odious doctrine of the equality of all men in the sight of God. The Great Trek of the Boer farmers from the eastern districts of the Cape in 1837 and the succeeding years was fundamentally stimulated by a land hunger thwarted by the movement of the Bantu tribes down the coastal fringe from Natal; but by the inevitable process of rationalization the Trek was explained and justified as a protest against the oppressive actions of a distant government in London and as an attempt to re-establish in the northern lands a "proper" relationship of subordination between black and white. The Boer farmers entered the appalling hazards of the wilderness fortified in spirit by the teachings of an Old Testament which seemed to have a special relevance to the experiences through which they were passing. They, too, were a primitive pastoral people moving through the wilderness to a Promised Land, deeply conscious that they were elected of God to a high and peculiar destiny. Their most active religious beliefs were the heritage of the French Calvinists who had sought refuge at the Cape after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes and brought to the people with whom they were so soon to be assimilated a robust faith in the Calvinist doctrine of predestination. Moreover, from their readings of the Old Testament they had learnt of the curse of Ham; and clearly no doctrine was more suitably conceived to give the sanction of religion to their dealings with African natives. A people, unschooled in book learning, cut off by vast distances and a whole world of religious dogmatism from the liberalising philosophies of the French revolution, the Boers had given their allegiance to the fierce tribal God of the pre-exilic Israelites, who knew no milk and water doctrines of the brotherhood of man.

9. In the republics of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State the emigrant Boers established a simple pastoral economy and governments remarkable for the respect they showed for the liberties of the citizen and the security of private property; but even here the fierce particularism of the Boers had to seek outlets in the establishment of various short-lived and petty independent republics on the borders of authority. Certainly, government authority, like the writs of English medieval kings, was effective only in the narrowest of limits; and the Transvaal republic was more than once torn by the

conflicts of men ambitious to rule. After years of great hardship and heroic achievement the Boers had tamed the wilderness and crushed the military power of the Zulus; and as a result of innumerable expeditions against local Bantu chieftains they had brought new tracts of country within their power and ownership and thousands of its native inhabitants into their service. A " proper relationship " between black and white untinged by any hint of a liberal attitude had been established; the Boers, true to their Calvinist tradition, betrayed no proselytising enthusiasm; and it was left to their patriarchal spirit to mitigate the worst asperities of the relatons between master and servant.

Industrial Revolution and the Boers.

10. Into this condition of rural backwardness and primitive simplicity there burst the 19th century industrial revolution, drawn by the discovery of diamonds and of gold. For half a century the Boers on their secluded plateau had been developing a society untouched by the industrial capitalism that was transforming the world. Goldmining brought confusion and bewilderment and a host of " Uitlanders " who opposed the brazen values of cosmopolitan finance and urban life to the claim of a landholding society that set immense store by tradition. To the Boers, Joseph Chamberlain was the embodiment of that sinister alliance between the British Government, industrialism and finance which was bent on destroying the independence and traditional way of life of a proud people rooted in the soil. The war of 1899-1902 inaugurated the new phase in the relations of Boer and Briton. The English, who pride themselves on their ability to forgive and forget, are too prone to believe that the generosity of Campbell-Bannerman was ample amends for the sufferings which the war had inflicted on the Boer people; in any case they are not the people to brood on past injuries. But in the minds of the Afrikaner people, in whom the memory of suffering is kept awake by the bitterness of defeat, the Boer War still stands out as the supreme injury. It is true that an Afrikaner like Smuts, with great philosophic insight, has succeeded in subordinating this bitterness to the Commonwealth ideal; that a man of great humanity, such as Botha, could within a few years respond to British statesmanship by preaching the doctrine of conciliation, and that a host of lesser men have refused to give their lives to a secular hatred and have instead sought the paths of racial co-operation. In a world eaten away by cancerous nationalisms it was, perhaps, not to be expected that the Afrikaner people could resist the contagion. The Boer War provided it with a national tradition, the pride of military achievement in a long struggle against the greatest of the World Powers, and the Womens' Monument at Bloemfontein to commemorate the deaths of women and children in the British concentration camps.

11. Some years ago it was generally believed that racial hatred would decline when the generation that had endured the Boer War had given way to a generation that had grown up in the peace. The trends of the past few years, and particularly in this war, have finally dispelled that comfortable belief. It is in the Afrikaans-medium Universities of Stellenbosch, Pretoria and Potchefstroom that the nationalist spirit is most vehement; and it is there that the revenge for the national martyrdom of the " Second War of Freedom " is most ardently preached. The Nationalists' most constantly proclaimed aim is the re-creation of the republican freedom which was destroyed by the war. It is to the Afrikaner youth that the new racial doctrines imported from Nazi Germany make the strongest appeal. Recent years have seen an increasing flow from the Afrikaans publishing houses of books purporting to describe from personal experience various aspects of the Boer War: one published as recently as 1938 repeated the wretched libel that the British had mixed ground glass into the sugar provided at a certain concentration camp; and the burning of the farmhouses is described in lurid detail. A propagandist of ingenuity translated a pamphlet written by Mr. Ramsay MacDonald describing a visit to South Africa after the Peace of Vereeniging and denouncing with an edifying fervour British policy in South Africa both before and after the struggle.

Growth of Afrikaans Language.

12. The development of Afrikaner nationalism is an interesting study of how a movement whose primary aim was to secure the recognition of language rights has ended up in an exclusive racialism which denies the rights of citizenship to other racial groups which inhabit the same State. The growth of Afrikaans to the status of literary respectability has been rapid and remarkable. Founded on the patois of Dutch which the white inhabitants of the Cape used in talking with their Hottentot servants, Afrikaans first attained the rank of a written language when a Reverend Mr. du Toit founded a newspaper *Die Patriot* at Paarl in the " seventies " of the last century. Gradually a school of poets arose who found in the Afrikaans idiom a suitable medium for the expression of moods and attitudes appropriate to a primitive pastoral society. In later years Afrikaans has acquired a large body of poetry imbued with the true lyrical spirit, novels describing in sentimental terms the life of the veld and stories of animal life of considerable literary merit. A handful of writers have in recent years tried their hands at the modern psychological novel with results which are naive and crude in the extreme. The establishment of the South African Academy brought order into spelling and grammar; but it was long before the older generation of educated Afrikaners would allow the use of " kitchen Dutch " in conversation between themselves; it is significant that the Afrikaans employed in Parliament by General Hertzog, the prime mover for official recognition of Afrikaans, was strongly reminiscent of " Hollands "; and General Smuts still uses Netherlandish expressions which grate on the ears of the pedants of the Afrikaner Academy, whose aim is to secure the maximum practicable differentiation between Afrikaans and High Dutch. With the appearance in 1933 of the Afrikaans translation of the Bible the seal seemed set at last on the status of Afrikaans as a language of cultivated people.

13. General Hertzog laid the foundations of his influence by his championship of the rights of the Dutch language in the educational system of the Orange Free State in the years after the Boer War. Lord Milner had instituted a system of State education whose intention was the Anglicising of the Boer population of the conquered republics. General Hertzog's Christian National schools, which had an obvious purpose, found great difficulty in competing with the State-subsidised system; but they did stake an effective claim for the equal recognition of Dutch; and in

1910 the Constitution recognised English and High Dutch as the official languages of the newly-founded Union. It was not until 1925 that an amending Act was passed through Parliament by the first Nationalist Government defining " Dutch " as including "Afrikaans." The granting of legal equality to the Dutch language was, however, a long way from full equality in practice. In the years after unification Nationalist propaganda throve on the inertia and prejudice that hindered the use of Afrikaans on an equal basis with English; and during the first Nationalist administration the Government found in it an effective instrument for the progressive "Afrikanerising " of the civil service. During these years the lives of British-born officials were made unhappy by continual circulars enquiring into their progress in Afrikaans. Many out of a mistaken and somewhat narrow minded stubbornness made no secret of their contempt for the new language; and these officials as a whole were passed over whenever possible for promotion to senior posts on the grounds of their lack of bilingual qualifications. With the onset of the economic depression in 1929 many were retrenched on the same grounds.

The Dutch Reformed Churches.

14. The Afrikaans language is one example of how the Nationalist movement has used cultural forces for political ends. Another is to be found in the field of religion. In the census of 1936, out of a white population of just over two million, 1,088,000 described themselves as adherents of one or other of the Dutch Reformed Churches. These churches are conservatively Calvinist and their predikants wield great political as well as spiritual influence. They are uncompromising exponents of isolationism from Europe and have no connexion with the parent church in Holland. A significant fact is the dominance in the churches of Afrikaners of French Huguenot extraction. Names like Malan (the present leader of the Nationalist Party himself began life as a predikant), du Toit, Malherbe, du Plessis bulk large in the ministry. As descendants of religious outcasts from their country of origin their influence has been powerful in weaning the Dutch with whom they are so intermixed from a sentimental attachment to Holland. It is they who have been most active in the process of substituting Afrikaans for Dutch in the liturgy and in the translation of the Bible. For them the test of a good South African is freedom from any additional attachments or loyalties outside the Union. Europeanism or Catholicism in any form is repugnant. The Bible, and particularly the Old Testament as interpreted by the South African synods of the Dutch Reformed Church, is the verbally inspired Word of God. It is less than 20 years ago that a leading Stellenbosch divine was expelled from the Church and deprived of his professorial chair for deviation from fundamentalist orthodoxy of the most primitive kind. Believing as they do in predestination, election and an eternal physical Hell hereafter for all save the elect, the Afrikaners conceive themselves as a chosen and separate minority of saved people in an environment of a damned majority. This religious determinism obviously provides little stimulus to save the soul of the heathen; and it is no accident that the Dutch Reformed Church, whose adherents outnumber the white members of all other Christian churches combined by almost two to one, should be so backward in missionary activity among the natives. (It must, of course, be remembered that the Anglican, Presbyterian and Methodist missions which have such an honourable record of educational activity in this country have, at least until recent years, drawn most of their financial support from the parent bodies in England and Scotland.) In the past year or so the Dutch Reformed Church has begun to take a more lively interest in the religious welfare of the Cape Coloured people; but it is difficult to determine to what extent this interest is inspired by concern for their souls or for their votes, which still hold the balance of power in several constituencies of the Western Cape.

15. Figures of native converts are instructive. The Dutch Reformed Churches have only 154,000 native adherents as compared with nearly 2,000,000 belonging to the other principal Christian communions. They maintain the most rigorous separation between white and black, and natives are not allowed into church buildings reserved for white congregations. The willingness to leave the heathen non-elect in outer darkness has its influence in the political field, where the nationalist party now announces without apology its intention to exclude from civic rights in its republic all Jews, " Jingo's " and everyone who has not proved his undivided allegiance to South Africa and the republican ideal. In the past few years bridges that had been built by painstaking effort between the Dutch Reformed Church and the English-speaking Christian churches have broken down. Its representatives have been withdrawn from the Christian Council, which had promised over a number of years to develop into a useful instrument of co-operation between the churches. The main complaints were that some of the representatives of the English churches could not conduct discussions in Afrikaans and that the Dutch Church could no longer tolerate the " liberal " attitude of the other bodies in question of colour. Similarly, the Dutch Reformed Church withdrew its agreement to take part in the World Sunday School Conference which was due to be held at Durban (and was finally cancelled on account of the war) when it learnt that non-European representatives were to be present.

16. The Dutch Reformed Church is wealthy and wields a potent political influence which is almost solidly on the side of the Nationalist Party. More than a handful of predikants have graduated from the pulpit to Parliament; and some of them, like the egregious Mr. du Toit, who is a convert to the New Order of Mr. Pirow, have gone to the extreme in their advocacy of racial exclusiveness and the stimulation of racial hatreds. A Reverend Mr. Kotze, of Bloemfontein, was for some years Chairman of the Ossewa Brandwag, and in that capacity was notable for his virulent attacks on the English-speaking section. It is no exaggeration to say that predikants, especially in the platteland, are active in the narrowly political, no less than in the religious guidance of their flocks and that their influence, with negligible exceptions, is consistently on the side of the Opposition. Indications of their attitude on the war issue are to be found in the frequent reports of predikants refusing soldiers in uniform admittance to their churches, and there have been two cases reported in the Nationalist Press recently where predikants have without any attempt at dissuasion baptised infants with the names of Adolf Hitler. They have strongly backed the Nationalist Party in the factitious agitation against the Government's alleged intention to give military training and arms to non-Europeans in the Army, supporting the protests by solemn affirmations that such a policy is " expressly forbidden by the Word of God." In synod assembled

they have given their blessing to the movement for a " Christian National " republic on the grounds that such an institution is a necessary part of the destiny laid down by God for the Afrikaner people. The drift from the platteland to the towns which has been greatly accelerated in recent years is leading to some diminution in the political power of the predikant, and the Dutch Reformed Church is beginning to show concern over the fate of its " wandering sheep " in the towns, especially on the Witwatersrand.

Economic Racialism.

17. Afrikaner particularism is now reaching into every sphere of the national life. Even in commerce and finance, for which the Afrikaner has in the past shown little aptitude, organized Afrikaner competition is beginning to arouse the fears of the old-established British and Jewish firms. In its negative aspect Afrikaner economic racialism is organized principally by the Ossewa Brandwag, and is directed mainly into the boycott of non-Afrikaner shopkeepers, doctors and lawyers in the platteland (the large departmental stores in the towns are also affected, though to a lesser degree). Until the general shortage of goods first made itself felt a few months ago, there were reports of a growing boycott in the country districts directed principally against the Jews, who make up the majority of country shopkeepers. An observer who revisited the Orange Free State after an absence of six months says that he was " shocked " at the change that had taken place. A boycott, water-tight and effective, had been organized in every town and district; and because it made much of its aims of social rehabilitation of the poor white, it derived a good deal of support from those very Afrikaners who called themselves progressive and moderate. " The Jew who for forty years has had close contact with Afrikaners finds that overnight all contact is lost. In its place he finds a highly-charged atmosphere of racial hate."

18. In its positive aspect this racialism in the economic field is exploited by the Reddingsdaad (Act of Redemption). This movement was founded at the time of the Voortrekker centenary celebrations in 1938 by a Free State predikant, Dr. Kestell. In his intention it was to be a genuine attempt to combine the spiritual and economic salvation of the poor white. These objectives have become grossly distorted in action. It was meant to be non-political, but it has become completely identified with the political opposition to the Government. A leader of the movement recently described its objectives in the following terms:—

> " If we want to achieve success we must use the technique of capitalism as it is applied to the most important industry of this country, the gold mining industry. We must establish something like the finance houses of Johannesburg."

Since then a central Afrikaner finance house has been established. Its name is the Federale Volksbeleggings (People's Investments), Limited, and its aim is to get control of the Afrikaners' savings and to invest them in purely Afrikaner enterprises. It has been launched with a share capital of £300,000, of which large blocks have been subscribed by an Afrikaner Life Insurance Company, an Afrikaner " People's Bank " and the Reddingsdaad organization itself. The inducements held out to prospective investors have been analysed as follows: The large profits accruing from the venture will flow back to Afrikanerdom; the Afrikaner will become the employer of his fellow-Afrikaner and the environment in which the Afrikaner will work will be an Afrikaner environment. There is no suggestion that these firms will have better conditions of work than those existing in " capitalist " organizations; but they will employ only Afrikaner workers—a term that has come to be synonymous with the supporters of the political Opposition.

19. In the past two years numerous shops, mainly of the clothing and household furnishing kind, have been established with the help of Afrikaner capital concentrated in this way. But the most interesting portent of all is the establishment in the past few weeks of an Afrikaner building society which makes its appeal exclusively to the Afrikaans-speaking section of the community. It is clear that an Afrikaner finance capitalism is developing, which is far removed from the social aims of the founder of the Reddingsdaad and may have an important influence on the future policy of the Nationalist Party. Even now there are signs of conflict between the conservative financial interests which are represented by *Die Burger*, of Cape Town, and the economic radicalism of some of the Transvaal Nationalists whose mouthpiece is *Die Transvaler*.

Separation in the Schools.

20. The tragedy of race relationships in South Africa is that so far from the educational system exerting a wholesome influence towards tolerance and understanding, its influence for many years has been to emphasize racial differences and to pander to the cry for separation between the English and Afrikaans-speaking sections. Under the pressure of Nationalist sentiment and fears that Afrikaner youth were being contaminated by contact with their English-speaking contemporaries, there has been a steady movement towards the herding of the two sections into separate " single-medium " schools. The second language in each one is taught merely as a school and a written " subject "; there is no contact between the children of the two sections in classroom or in playground; and a perfunctory bilingualism is a matter of examination certificates rather than of easy and assured intercourse. It is, indeed, remarkable that after so many years of official insistence on bilingual qualifications the standard prevailing in the use of the second language is so low. Whereas the generation of Afrikaner youth which grew up after the South African War found a sound knowledge of English essential for advancement in any career, except perhaps farming, the tendency is now for many Afrikaners, especially in the platteland, to grow up with perhaps a very slight reading knowledge of the language but with complete inability to speak it. The younger English-speaking generation, on the other hand, is by the very force of circumstances made more aware of the need for proficiency in Afrikaans; but social intercourse between the two sections is so difficult and rare that English-speaking children who grow up in the larger towns seldom have any practice in using Afrikaans in conversation. There is now a strong reaction on the Government side in favour of dual-medium schools in which the children of both races would be brought together in classroom and playground and in which each language would be the medium of instruction for half the

subjects of the curriculum. The proposal is being vigorously fought by the Afrikaner opposition on the ground that it is a disguised attempt to wean Afrikaner children from their nationalist and isolationist sympathies; and it is pointed out that the private Church of England and British Nonconformist schools, which play so large a part in the education of English-speaking youth, would not be affected by such a change.

21. As things are now, the Afrikaans-medium schools in many parts of the country are breeding grounds of racial hatred. Teachers make no effort to hide their partiality, and Afrikaner supporters of the Government who happen to be in the minority in country districts make frequent complaints of the efforts which teachers make to direct the sympathies of pupils into Nationalist channels. At election times in particular, Afrikaner teachers of Nationalist sympathies have gone to the most improper lengths of propaganda. It is significant and disturbing that teachers are among the leaders of the Ossewa Brandwag in the platteland. A party like the United Party, which depends for its very existence on the practice of racial co-operation, labours under many disadvantages as compared with an aggressive nationalist movement which makes its appeal frankly to only one racial group. An example of this is the teaching of history in the schools. In recent years a disproportionate emphasis has come to be placed by the State schools on purely South African history; and whereas the English text books do their best to emphasize the aspects of co-operation between the two sections and minimize events such as the South African war which have left a residue of bitterness, the Afrikaans text books see South African history as a saga of heroic struggles against the British Imperialist oppressor. Well might Sir Charles Oman say (though he was not thinking of South Africa) that he cared not who made the laws of a country if he had the making of its primary school history manuals.

22. Another factor which should not be overlooked in considering the influence of education on the prospects of racial co-operation is the unwillingness of young English-speaking men and women to adopt teaching as a career and the consequent predominance of Afrikaans-speaking teachers in the profession. In the large towns English-medium Government schools have grown up under the influence of masters and mistresses imported by Lord Milner from Oxford and Cambridge in large numbers after the South African War, and a remarkably high standard of education has been attained; but after forty years' service these teachers are retiring almost *en bloc* and it is increasingly difficult to fill their places even with English-speaking South African-trained teachers of a second-rate ability. Even in the big Johannesburg schools an increasingly large proportion of the staff is coming to consist of teachers whose home language is Afrikaans; and in the English-medium country schools the English language is now frequently taught by Afrikaans-speaking teachers with no direct or living experience of English culture.

23. Afrikaner separatism in recent years has extended to the Boy Scouts and Girl Guides. A rival youth movement called the Voortrekkers has been started, with a similar technique to that of Lord Baden-Powell's foundation but with vastly different objects. In this movement school teachers, perhaps inevitably, take a leading part. In art also, the same tendency is apparent. *Die Transvaler* only the other day complained that the galleries at Cape Town and Johannesburg did not give enough space or prominence to the works of " Afrikaner artists ". One would think, this paper said, that " only the British knew how to wield the paint brush or the chisel." This accusation is untrue, as several of the best painters and sculptors now working in South Africa are of pure Afrikaner stock, and are represented in public galleries.

The Universities.

24. The standard of South African university education, with the exception of the Witwatersrand and Cape Town, is low, as those graduates find who go on to English or Continental universities. The *Natal Witness*, in a recent leading article, described the Natal university colleges as " little more than glorified high schools, entry for which is within the compass of the mediocre, even the dull, and the life of which bears more resemblance to a girls' seminary than to a university." On the side of the humanities the standard appears to be steadily deteriorating as a result of the displacement of the older professors (who came almost invariably from the British Isles, and many of whom are now reaching the retiring age) by teachers educated solely at South African universities. The English-medium universities (Cape Town, Johannesburg and certain of the constituent colleges of the Federal University of South Africa) do still when possible appoint to teaching posts former students who have been overseas; but the Afrikaans-medium institutions now tend to attach little if any value to the possession of any overseas experience, even in Holland or in Germany; and many of the teachers have never been out of the country. In these institutions the nationalist impulse is growing in strength. At Pretoria, for example, political feeling is so intense that sons and daughters of English-speaking families of the town, even though fluent in the use of Afrikaans, are deterred from attending the university and have to go elsewhere.

25. In a recent talk with an English-speaking member of the staff I gained an interesting impression of the atmosphere there, and, no doubt, in the other Afrikaans universities and colleges. He told me that the real power and dominating influence in Pretoria University was the Dutch Reformed Church. Its tame representatives on the Council and committees ruled the roost, as all others were tactfully silent for fear of the consequences—social and financial. All " Freedom," academic as well as political, had been suppressed by a well organized " Gestapo " among the staff and students which reported any " unorthodox " activity. In teaching English care had to be observed in mentioning the writings of Lyall, Darwin, Huxley, Herbert Spencer or Cardinal Newman. My informant told me that this censorship was inspired not so much by political considerations in the narrow sense as by the fear of the predikants that they might lose their hold over the people and their determination that young Afrikaners at the University should not become contaminated with modern liberal and free-thinking ideas. The fear of English or even of Nederlands was that knowledge of these languages might mean access to books and ideas that would undermine orthodox Calvinism and clerical authority. His whole account reminded me of Spanish education and universities before the fall of Alfonso XIII. Strenuous efforts have recently been made by the Dutch Reformed Church in the

Orange Free State to transform the University College at Bloemfontein into a wholly Afrikaans institution. The irony of the situation is that the college was founded on the initiative and with funds provided by a former High Commissioner and Governor of the Cape Colony, Sir George Grey, in the " fifties " of the last century. In recent years as a result of agreement between the two sections the teaching of the college has been conducted in the proportions of 60 per cent. Afrikaans to 40 per cent. English. For the time being at least that position is to be maintained; but it is unlikely that the Afrikaner extremists will not return to the attack at some later date.

26. In the relations between the English and the Afrikaans-medium universities there is the same movement towards Afrikaner isolation that is evident in every aspect of the national life. Not many years ago all university institutions were represented in the National Union of South African Students, which held an annual " Students' Parliament " and performed a useful function in the education of students in the discussion of public affairs and in providing them with a meeting ground. Three years ago, however, the students of the Afrikaans universities broke away from the Union and have now their own Nasionale Studentebond, whose leaders are in close touch with Dr. van Rensburg, the head of the Ossewa Brandwag. Because, moreover, in a recent controversy over the admission of the native students of Fort Hare to the National Union of South African Students the students of the Witwatersrand University took up a liberal attitude which was regarded by the Afrikaans universities as injurious to Afrikaner traditions, the Pretoria University openly declared its intention to have no further contact with its neighbour; and the annual Rugby football matches and inter-university debates have been cancelled avowedly for this reason. Other examples of Afrikaner isolationist tendencies are the foundation of an Afrikaner golf and country club at Johannesburg, and of a motor club as a rival to the two existing organizations.

(C) NATIONALISM AND THE WAR.

27. In the political sphere it is clear that the war has had catastrophic consequences. The general election of May, 1938, had returned the United Party to power with a majority of four-fifths of the House of Assembly. The co-operation of Afrikaans and English-speaking Afrikaners appeared to have been vindicated after five years of trial. In the body of the United Party there were inevitable strains and stresses; old suspicions still lingered and a first-class crisis could still be precipitated by the failure of the Defence authorities to fly the Union Jack alongside the Union flag at a Union Day ceremony; the English-speaking section was restive under General Hertzog's exaggerated show of deference to the German diplomatic representatives in the matter of hostile press comment and the obstinacy with which he demonstrated his independence of Britain by clinging to the Italian shipping subsidy. But about the foundations of the State system there was solid agreement. If the English-speaking section suffered many pinpricks administered not without malice, they had at least the satisfaction of hearing Mr. Pirow characterize a republic as " a joke—and a poor joke at that," and General Hertzog pay tribute to Britain as the defender of South Africa's freedom. Both parties to Fusion were undergoing a useful political education and discipline in the difficult art of living together. Dr. Malan, the head of an inconsiderable and somewhat forlorn group of malcontents, was still upholding the principles of a purified and nostalgic nationalism; but he appeared at the moment to be content with the status formally recognized in the Balfour Declaration and the Statute of Westminister. Republicanism, it seemed at last, was dead.

28. On 4th September, 1939, nearly a third of the United Party followed General Hertzog into a new alliance with Dr. Malan, who welcomed them back as prodigals returned at last to the doctrines of isolationism and nationalism pure and undefiled. Afrikanerdom, it was jubilantly claimed, was re-united; and General Smuts was left to run a war with the support of the English-speaking people and backed by a minority of Afrikaans-speaking followers. These were henceforth to be taunted with the cry of " Loyal Dutch," the name which the British had conferred on the passive population of the Cape Colony during the South African War. Republicanism, so long quiescent, flamed once more into sudden and active life. Parliament's decision in favour of war was an affront to the ingrained isolationism of the Afrikaner people; and it did violence to the pro-German sentiment of a small but influential majority, many of them of German stock. It is important to realize that the primary impulse in the Afrikaner people's reaction was not so much dislike to Britain as an intense unwillingness to get mixed up again in " other people's wars." The more sophisticated took up the position that the Union was a small country, with neither the privileges nor the responsibilities of the Great Powers; in an " imperialistic " war between Great Powers it was the path of wisdom for small countries to lie low in the hope that they would be left in peace. The predominance of British seapower was still accepted as part of the natural order; and the Afrikaner nationalist saw no more reason to feel under an obligation to Britain for the protection afforded by her Navy than did the Dutch colonies who lay under the more immediate threat of Japanese power in the Pacific. Even the destruction of Dutch and Belgian neutrality aroused no qualms. It was the misfortune of those countries that they lay in the path of the German advance. South Africa, six thousand miles from the centre of conflict, was not necessarily in danger; and the continued (if temporary) immunity of the Union in the face of the Japanese menace has merely confirmed the Nationalists in their belief in the practicability of isolation.

Anti-British Feeling.

29. If, however, isolationism of the French Canadian type was the prime ingredient of the Afrikaner's attitude at the time, it was inevitable that the Union's participation in the war would result in the re-awakening and intensification of anti-British feeling. For, the argument went, although the war decision was constitutional enough, it was not " free," since at least the English-speaking members who voted for it were so influenced by their feelings for Britain in danger that they were incapable of looking at the issue from the narrowly South African point of view. Had not Mr. B. K. Long himself admitted as much when in the war debate he begged Afrikaner members to understand the deeply-rooted feelings which moved their English-speaking fellow South Africans? It was clear that until the last ties which bound the Union to Great Britain were severed the greater part of the English-speaking population would always throw their influence on the side of intervention in

future wars in which Britain might be involved. The remedy was to cut the last remaining ties that bound the Union to the British Commonwealth of Nations, for until that was done and formal republican independence established, the Union's freedom in external affairs would exist merely on paper.

30. The outbreak of war raised once again, and brought into the very forefront of the political conflict, the whole issue of the relationship between the Union and Great Britain. In peacetime that issue had seemed satisfactorily settled; now no amount of sophistry about a vital South African interest being at stake in a " war for Poland " could disguise the fact that South Africa was in the war simply and as an inevitable consequence of Britain's own participation. General Smuts, " the greatest Imperialist of our time," as an English newspaper had called him, had dragged South Africa into the war against Germany in the British interest; and the Afrikaner, grown cynical in an age of power politics, was unmoved by moral arguments. British foreign policy in the immediate pre-war years since the famous Hoare-Laval incident, had done little to enlist the support of moral sentiment in the world at large; and Afrikaners could perhaps be forgiven when they found malicious pleasure in stripping it of its moral claims and exposing the bare bones of economic and insular self-interest. Moreover, a people still assiduous in cultivating a picture of themselves as martyrs to the British lust for empire, were left indifferent by the argument that the Germans were (in their turn) out for world domination. The majority might feel at the back of their minds that the best interests of their country lay in a British victory; but this was a merely fortuitons coincidence of interest and the negligible contribution which the Union might be able to make towards this consummation would be overbalanced by the loss and suffering to herself.

31. The tragedy is that this feeling of aloofness from the overriding world issues of the time was in no way counteracted by any consciousness of solidarity with a threatened civilization. At a time when the world was groping towards a greater degree of integration, and economic necessity was calling for the formation of larger political units, the Afrikaner people were absorbed in a romantic nationalism that was the best part of a hundred years behind the times. They have been plunged against their will into a war with which they still profess to have no concern and on behalf (as they believe) of an Empire with which they have no longer any wish to be associated. The resulting emotions of irritation and frustration have given the main impulse to the present republican agitation which is now the major content of Opposition political activity.

(D) THE POLITICAL OPPOSITION.

32. It is now generally accepted that of the total Afrikaans-speaking population of about 1,300,000 no less than 700,000 may be counted as supporters of Dr. Malan and the Nationalist Party, 300,000 are members of the Ossewa Brandwag, adherents of Mr. Pirow or followers of the smallest and least irreconcilable group led by Mr. Havenga. The remaining 300,000 support General Smuts. Added as they are to the 950,000 members of the English-speaking population they give the Government a majority against the combined opposition groups. It is evident, of course, that these figures are nothing more than a rough estimate; and they include not only the politically effective members of the population but children who are classified according to the political allegiance of their parents. They are, however, a guide to within, say, a hundred thousand, of the relative proportions of the political groups.

33. The Nationalist Party of to-day justifiably enough claims to be the repository of the nationalist tradition as founded by General Hertzog in the struggle against " Milnerism " and developed by him in the Nationalist administrations which held office from 1924 to 1933. Nationalists maintain that in the years of Fusion when General Hertzog fell prey to the seduction of reconciliation, it was they who maintained the principles of Afrikaner nationalism undefiled; and when at last the outbreak of war demonstrated the essential instability of the alliance between the two sections, General Hertzog's return to the Nationalist fold was a vindication of the attitude which Dr. Malan had upheld during the period of that unhappy " experiment." The republic which the Nationalist Party now so ardently desire is ostensibly modelled on the Boer republics which lost their independence at the Peace of Vereeniging; with the difference, however, that whereas the Transvaal republic had only a minority of uitlanders at Johannesburg to contend with and the Orange Free State had hardly any at all, the new South African republic would incorporate the English-speaking population of the former British colony of Natal and the large English-speaking population of the Cape Province, as well as the Rand with an English-speaking population vastly greater than that which so sorely troubled the peace of mind of President Kruger. Its republic, nevertheless, would be an Afrikaner republic in the most exclusive sense; it would be the Afrikaner folk-myth now so sedulously cultivated that would determine its character and direction; and the State would be formally based on a Christianity bounded by the Calvinist doctrines of the Dutch Reformed Church. In such a society there would be no basis for the equal co-operation of Boer and Briton. Vague promises have been made to protect the *cultural* rights of the English-speaking population; but *political* rights would be extended only to Afrikaners and those members of the English-speaking population who had proved by word and deed that their whole allegiance was given to the republican ideal. The Jews " and other un-national elements " would not be admitted to citizenship. The colour line between whites and blacks would be most strongly reinforced and upheld; and the colour bar would be extended to every field of employment where Europeans were now meeting the competition of unskilled natives.

The Malanite Programme.

34. The Malanite programme for the attainment of a republic has undergone significant changes during the course of the war. After the fall of France and the retreat from Dunkirk, when it appeared even to observers less biassed than the Nationalist Party that only a miracle could save Britain from defeat, Dr. Malan made frantic efforts to disassociate South Africa from a Power apparently going down in ruin. The " peace petition " was set on foot, demanding the withdrawal of the Union from the war; and the Nationalist Party gave many evidences of its sympathy with Germany, including a willingness to sacrifice the democratic traditions of the Afrikaner people in

favour of an authoritarian regime clearly modelled on that of Germany. At that time Dr. Malan hoped that the Ossewa Brandwag, as the " action front " of Afrikaner nationalism, would submit itself to his control; but it soon became clear that Dr. van Rensburg wanted a career of his own and was in no mind to make his organization an appendage of a political party. Moreover, he was in sympathy with Mr. Pirow's dissident elements in the Nationalist Party who were beginning the active propagation of the National Socialist doctrine unhampered by nostalgic retrospection towards the idyllic past of the Boer republics. It was not long before Dr. van Rensburg and Mr. Pirow, as unacknowledged allies, were engaged in strenuous competition with Dr. Malan for the favour of the prospective German victor. Gradually it became apparent to Dr. Malan that a Parliamentary party which relied largely upon the support of the Dutch Reformed Church and claimed to be the sole exponent of the "Afrikaner tradition " was no match for his rivals when it came to demonstrating his passion for the national-socialist ideal. Moreover, Britain was not dead after all, and, indeed, showed a disturbing capacity of resiliency; and American help was beginning to be effective. The Nationalist leaders recovered their confidences in the mission and usefulness of a party committed to seeking its objects through Parliamentary methods; they emphasized the achievements of the old Nationalist Party under General Hertzog and began their vigorous campaign to force the Ossewa Brandwag into subjection and Mr. Pirow into the narrow bounds of party discipline. Dr. Malan was confirmed in his return to the democratic path by the exasperating partiality which the German broadcasting station at Zeesen displayed for the Ossewa Brandwag. Its broadcasts were being followed by increasing numbers of Afrikaners and the bitter attacks which they delivered on the Nationalist leaders did much to destroy the illusion that their interests lay in a German victory.

35. The present policy and expectations of the Nationalist Party were clearly stated in a recent speech by Mr. Eric Louw, who is Dr. Malan's chief lieutenant in the Cape Province and the rival to Mr. Strydom, the Transvaal leader, for ultimate succession to Dr. Malan. The war, he said, had three possible issues. The most probable was a German victory. General Smuts would be compelled by the failure of his policy to hand over power to the Parliamentary Opposition and the Nationalist Party, through Dr. Malan, would conduct negotiations with Germany. Hitler would realize that he would have to negotiate with the party which represented the overwhelming majority of nationalist-minded Afrikaners. He would not negotiate with a mere minority such as the Ossewa Brandwag and Mr. Pirow. (Mr. Louw did not say that this line of reasoning had been prompted by the experience of Roumania, where Hitler had raised, not the Iron Guard, but General Antonescu, to power).

36. In the event of a stalemate, Mr. Louw continued, British prestige in the world would be finally destroyed and a necessary consequence would be the disintegration of the British Empire. South Africa would certainly be powerfully affected by the general disillusionment and the Nationalist Party would, in this case, also come to power and be in a position to sever all connections with the British Commonwealth. If, however, present expectations were falsified and Britain and the United States emerged as victors, the Nationalist Party would continue its struggle for republican independence as it had after the last war and on lines similar to those pursued with such success by Mr. de Valera in Eire. In the event either of a British victory or a stalemate, Mr. Louw said, the Ossewa Brandwag and the New Order movement would disappear from the scene. These groups were not equipped to fight British " Jingoism " or General Smuts. They were sitting and waiting for a republic to be presented to them on a platter by Germany. They hoped that they would be the new rulers of South Africa, but even then Dr. van Rensburg and Mr. Pirow would have to settle the question as to which of them would be in actual command.

The Nationalists and Democracy.

37. Among the leaders of the Nationalist Party it is Mr. Strydom who has been most active in confirming the Party in a Parliamentary democratic outlook and in persuading it that its future can lie only in the development and modernization of the democratic principles inherent in the system of the Boer republics. In an able speech to the Nationalist Youth Congress at Pretoria early in August he insisted that it was this system, modified and improved to meet the needs of a new age, upon which the new South African republic would have to be based. " This republic must be guaranteed against interference from outside and against hostile and un-national elements from within; it must be made safe for white, Christian civilization; and set free from the bonds of the capitalist money-power and parasitical exploitation." He proceeded to criticize Dr. van Rensburg and his friends, who were spreading a false conception of South African history. They had not the courage to attack the republican ideal, but instead put forward the idea of a " sham republic," while all the time they were striving for the establishment of a National Socialist dictatorship. Paul Kruger had been a great democrat and had always shown the utmost solicitude for the authority of the Volksraad. Democracy, indeed, was part of the very nature of the Afrikaner people and was enshrined in their past. At the same time it should be emphasized that there were as many branches of democracy as there were sects in the Protestant church; and the Afrikaner conception of democracy differed just as much from other conceptions as Calvinism differed from Methodism. Thus Boer democracy was quite a different thing from the " British-Jewish " democracy.

38. In a recent speech at Johannesburg Dr. Malan took the curious and treasonable course of appealing to Hitler for an indication of his " intentions with regard to South Africa, just as Japan had declared her intentions with regard to India." Some weeks later in the Zeesen Afrikaans transmission appeared a reference which he claimed to be the desired confirmation of his statement that Germany had no wish to interfere in the internal affairs of the Union and that the Nationalist Party would be permitted to proceed unmolested with its task of building up the Christian-National republic. This claim is, to say the least, disingenuous and not borne out by the text of the broadcast. Zeesen, indeed, took pains to point out that, while it had the highest regard for the achievements of the old Nationalist Party, it was not prepared to regard Dr. Malan's faction, which had lost the support of both General Hertzog and Mr. Pirow, with their respective followers, as anything more than the negligible rump of that party. It then declared that Germany had no wish to dictate the form of government which South Africa should adopt so long as South Africa ceased to be governed in the interests of a foreign Power and was truly Afrikaans.

Dependence on a German Victory.

39. Dr. van Rensburg, Commandant-General of the Ossewa Brandwag, promptly demonstrated the naivete of Dr. Malan's claims. In the struggle against General Smuts, he said, Germany was on the side of those national-minded organizations which were out to discipline the people and secure national solidarity and not on the side of politicians who sought personal and party advantage even at the cost of unity. He then stated roundly that, so far as the Ossewa Brandwag was concerned, there was no doubt that the emancipation of the Afrikaner people from the British yoke was entirely dependent on a German victory.

40. In the period immediately after the outbreak of war, when attempts were made not without some prospects of success to secure the co-operation of the Nationalist Party and the Ossewa Brandwag, there was a tendency for the differences of outlook and aim between these rival organizations to be deliberately obscured. Now, however, the Nationalist Party is engaged in a war of extermination against the Ossewa Brandwag with the object of establishing itself as the sole representative of national-minded Afrikanerdom in the political sphere; and the struggle has forced both sides to clarify and systematize their attitudes on the questions at issue. Thus, while the Nationalist Party is striving after a republic independent of any outside Power and democratic in the sense that it would cling to some semblance of the Parliamentary system, the Ossewa Brandwag is frankly out to establish an authoritarian state under the ægis of Germany. In a manifesto issued in April, 1942, it declared the Boer nation (in the Nazi jargon) to be " an organized ethical idea." For the sake of a strong national government, it continued, liberal and democratic ideas would be eliminated and a closely-knit and disciplined nation built up. Organized money-power would be rendered powerless by the nationalization of key industries, the banks and the means of propaganda. Emphasis would be laid on the health and welfare of Afrikaner families, " as carriers of Afrikaner blood," and not on rich joint-stock companies which exploited the nation.

41. Despite the obvious inspiration which it draws from Germany, the Ossewa Brandwag is not formally committed to the National Socialist doctrine. Dr. van Rensburg himself is an adherent of it, but he has not tried as yet to force it upon the rank and file of his movement. The Chief exponent of National Socialism in South Africa is Mr. Pirow, who founded the New Order movement to propagate it. He has done his best to sever the inevitable connexion in people's minds between National Socialism and Germany by declaring that every country should adopt a form of the doctrine specially suited to its needs and traditions, and incurred some ridicule by declaring that if his own brand of National Socialism owed anything to foreign inspiration, it was to Dr. Salazar rather than to Hitler that he was indebted. He has always denied that his New Order was only a political movement; and recently announced that every member of his movement must also necessarily be a faithful member of the Ossewa Brandwag. He expressed the hope that in time every member of the Ossewa Brandwag would be a " National Socialist." His tactics are clearly designed in time to place him in a position from which he will be able to challenge Dr. van Rensburg for the leadership of the pro-German forces in the country. But Mr. Pirow's personal following is negligible in numbers; and his importance (such as it is) springs from his influence on German elements in the population and a group of young Afrikaner " intellectuals " and the personal vigour and ambition of the clever lawyer of pure German stock which may once again bring him into the forefront of the political conflict.

Ossewa Brandwag in Decline.

42. The Ossewa Brandwag, which in the early period of the war looked as if it would displace the Nationalist Party as the principal opponent of the Government, is now rapidly on the decline. For this many factors are responsible. Its hopes of an early German victory have been too often disappointed, and, like a spring which has been kept wound up too long, it has lost its tension. Dr. van Rensburg has failed as a leader. He is not a man of action but an " intellectual "; and as a former Secretary for Justice he is only too clearly aware of the dangers of precipitate and violent action. At the same time he has not been able to restrain the young hot-heads among his followers who crave excitement; and the consequent amateurish and inefficient attempts at sabotage by dynamite, which a series of court cases has laid at the door of the Ossewa Brandwag, has provoked a revulsion of feeling among the Afrikaner population of the platteland. Nothing but a martyr's crown can now raise his prestige as a leader among his own people; but this continues to be denied him by an incredibly long-suffering Government whose tolerance it must be admitted, has in this respect at least been amply justified. Most important of all, the Nationalist Party's campaign, which has been conducted with great skill and no little cunning, has attracted many thousands of Ossewa Brandwag members back to the party fold; and many thousands more, confronted by the necessity of choosing between the two organizations, have decided to remain faithful to the Nationalist Party as the repository of Afrikaner traditions and to renounce a movement which, in their eyes, seeks to substitute German intervention for British " influence."

43. So much for the various factions of the Afrikaner republican opposition. I should not close this section of my despatch without at least a perfunctory mention of the now exiguous Afrikaner Party—that child of misfortune which is renounced even by General Hertzog whom it followed with such eager filial piety into the political wilderness. This group was at first much nearer to the Government side than to the quarrelling factions of the Opposition. Its republicanism was of the theoretical kind which insists that a prime condition for the establishment of a republic must be the consent of the majority of the English-speaking section. It still stands nominally on the principle of racial co-operation and will have nothing to do with any constitution which denies the full and equal rights of the English-speaking population. Its only quarrel with the Government appeared to be the Union's participation in the war which it still affects to believe could have been avoided; but in its opposition inside Parliament it has been so moderate and so studious not to embarrass the Government that its extra-Parliamentary leader, Mr. Havenga, is still talked about by the English-speaking people as a possible Prime Minister when the war is over; and his candidature may well receive the support of the gold mining interest. On the other hand, the rift between these old " Hertzogites " and Dr. Malan is so deep that if their few Members of Parliament had to choose between Dr. Malan and Mr. Pirow, they would, like General Hertzog himself, throw in their lot with Mr. Pirow. As a third " Opposition " party they are a steadily dwindling force in the country.

(E) THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING POPULATION.

44. Previous sections of this despatch have dealt almost exclusively with the Afrikaans-speaking section of the South African population. It would perhaps be convenient at this stage to give some account of the position occupied in the community by the English-speaking people who make up about 42 per cent. of the Union's white population. The census of last year disclosed a total of 950,000 English-speaking people (including 100,000 Jews) as against 1,300,000 Afrikaners. Unlike the other Dominions, South Africa has not had the advantage of a steady and considerable flow of British immigrants. Immigration was, it is true, greatly stimulated for short periods by the discovery first of diamonds and then of gold in the seventies and eighties of last century. In the years immediately succeeding the South African War many thousands entered the country; but for several years afterwards a commercial depression intervened which actually resulted in a net loss of European population. From 1910 and again from 1918 onwards the inward flow of British immigrants and others was resumed, only to be checked once more by the onset of an economic depression. In 1924 the new restrictions placed upon Immigration by the United States and other countries which had formerly received a large influx of population diverted a considerable stream of immigrants from Eastern, Central and Southern Europe to the Union. In 1930 General Hertzog's Government, alarmed by the growing influx of Jews from Eastern Europe, secured the passage through Parliament of the Immigration Quota Act, which was effective in reducing the flow; but it is significant that in the ten years, 1926-36, the Jewish population of the Union increased by no less than 12 per cent.

45. In the four years before the present war never more than 5,000 British subjects entered the Union, and the average net gain was about 3,200; and it is interesting to note that the persons born in the Union now amount to seven-eighths of the total European population as against three-quarters in 1904. Of the " extra-born " Europeans 70 per cent. have come from the United Kingdom or other British territories. But clearly if the tendencies of the pre-war years persist British immigrants will do little to redress the balance of population which for many years past has been going steadily against the English-speaking section. Unfortunately it is only in the past five years that the census has tried to estimate the respective proportions in the European population of English and Afrikaans-speaking people; but it is everywhere admitted that whereas at the turn of the century the two sections were very nearly equal in numbers, the higher Afrikaner birth-rate has given the Afrikaans-speaking section a growing preponderance. Even if this were not a matter of common observation it could be deduced from the general rule that a relatively backward rural population has a higher rate of increase than the more progressive population of the towns; and in the South African rural areas no less than 85 per cent. of the population is Afrikaans-speaking. Even in the towns, where the proportions are 54 per cent., English-speaking as against 42 per cent. Afrikaans-speaking, the latter, forming as they do the main bulk of the poorer class, tend to be more prolific than their English-speaking neighbours. Nothing less, indeed, than a considerable influx of immigrants from Great Britain can hope to redress the balance; and in this connexion it cannot be too strongly emphasized that for land settlement or schemes of the kind tried after the last war there is simply no future at all. Any considerable immigration must be based on the development of base metals and of manufactures. It is perhaps enough for the purposes of the present despatch to say that these prospects are not unfavourable; indeed, were this otherwise there would be no more promising future for South Africa once the gold mining industry had declined than that of a poor and backward agricultural economy. If this condition can be fulfilled there seems little doubt that there would be many thousands of young Britons who would avail themselves of openings in South Africa in secondary industry. Convoys have taken hundreds of thousands of British troops through South African ports during the present war; and their hosts have been powerfully struck by their enthusiasm for the country and the apparently widespread desire to settle here after the war. Many young Royal Air Force artisans now in South Africa in the joint air training scheme hope to be demobilized and to take up civil employment here at the conclusion of hostilities. The other side of this picture, of course, is the bitter opposition which the Afrikaners would raise to any large-scale immigration which might threaten their political domination; even now Nationalist newspapers are full of suggestions that the Government has on foot a plot to " plough Afrikaners under " by means of State-aided immigration from Britain after the war.

Race " Segregation."

46. Nearly the whole of the English-speaking population is concentrated in four areas. These are (1) the Witwatersrand, which now contains just over one-fifth of the total European population; (2) Natal, with a population of 141,000 English-speaking and only 38,000 Afrikaans-speaking people; (3) the Cape Peninsula, where an overwhelmingly English-speaking community is cut off from the cities of the interior and the south-east coast by the Nationalist stronghold of the Western Cape Province; and (4) the Eastern Province of the Cape where the towns of Port Elizabeth, East London, Grahamstown, and Kingwilliamstown are the centre of an English-speaking population descended in very large measure from the 1820 Settlers. In these areas, with the partial exception of the Witwatersrand, English-speaking communities live a life almost completely segregated from their Afrikaner fellow countrymen. Here one may live for years and hear hardly a word of Afrikaans spoken. Many families of Afrikaner descent have been so well assimilated that they are almost " more English than the English "; and social contacts between members of the two sections are almost non-existent. To drive forty miles from Cape Town to Paarl, for example, is to enter a different world, where Afrikaans culture prevails and English exists only on sufferance. Further inland, in the open spaces of the Karroo, are villages in which many inhabitants would not be able to understand the simplest English sentence. Even on the Witwatersrand, where thousands of Afrikaner youths from the platteland have taken the places of the English and Cornish miners and where " poor whites " driven by economic circumstances from the land have found a refuge, there is little mixing between the two sections of the people. The prosperous northern suburbs of Johannesburg are

inhabited almost entirely by the English-speaking mining magnates, professional and business families and by a small minority of Afrikaans-speaking lawyers and doctors; the slums of Vrededorp and Mayfair are just as predominantly Afrikaans; in between, in the less fashionable suburbs and the mining towns that stretch from Springs to Randfontein, Afrikaans and English-speaking families may live side by side in the same streets, but contacts are of the most perfunctory, if only because of the language barrier people tend to make their friends among members of the same language group. Such intermarrying as there is is infrequent enough to cause comment. Instead of an equal union of cultures, these marriages usually tend to the absorption of one partner into the culture of the other; and contrary as this may seem to the superficial expectation, they are negligible as a factor making for understanding between the two sections.

47. The English-speaking people in South Africa are predominantly a middle-class community, comfortably circumstanced and easygoing. Life is made smooth for them by an equable and sunny climate, and by an abundance of native domestic servants. Nurtured for the most part in the years when British pre-eminence in the world was regarded almost as part of the natural order, they have the self-confidence which springs from a belief in the inherent superiority of the British race. Their demeanour in the years immediately after the South African War did much to aggravate in the mind of the Afrikaner the feeling of inferiority and the urge towards self-vindication that are the psychological roots of Afrikaner nationalism. It is the measure of their failure that, as the representatives of a world-wide culture and supported as they were by the prestige of the greatest empire known to history they have failed to win the Afrikaner to the British way of life. Burke once said that little minds and a great empire go ill together. The English-speaking people in South Africa, in the years after the Boer War, were " top-dog," and they failed in magnanimity. " Dutch " and " Afrikaner " on their lips were terms of reproach; England was still " Home " even to those whose parents and grandparents had been born in South Africa. To Afrikaners who, as a result of historical circumstance and a deliberate act of will, had cut themselves off from the countries of their ancestors, the flaunting of a British loyalty (accompanied as it often was by open contempt for South Africa) was an unforgivable affront.

The Financial and Economic Field.

48. One of the most significant features of the social structure is the extent to which the English-speaking people dominate the financial and economic field. Jews are predominant in the smaller retail trade in the towns, and in the South African equivalents of Woolworths and Marks & Spencer. They make up the majority of country storekeepers. They have also a powerful position in the clothing manufacturing industry (which has made rapid strides in recent years) and in some smaller manufactures. But it is South Africans of British descent who for the most part control the large concentrations of financial power, most notable of which are the gold-mining houses, and the finance and trust companies. They also control the insurance companies and commercial agencies. Among the leaders of the gold-mining industry such names as John Martin, Anderson, Carleton Jones and Beatty predominate. Sir Ernest Oppenheimer, a Jew, and Dr. Hans Pirow, a South African of German descent, are very much exceptions in this field. The local management of the two great commercial banks was until recently entirely in the hands of English-speaking South Africans; the appointment of Mr. van der Merwe to the General Membership of Barclays Bank a year or so ago was the subject of surprised comment. The great department stores are in the hands of British families like Stuttaford, Thorne, Garlick and Orr. Here, again, the election of Mr. van de Horst as Chairman of the board of Fletcher's at Cape Town was hailed everywhere as proof that Afrikaners could make good in business; but the comment it occasioned was itself an indication of the infrequency of such an appointment.

49. If the English-speaking people predominate in the economic sphere they are drifting progressively into the position of a racial minority in politics, and are beginning to show the special psychological traits which are fostered by such a situation. They are, of course, handicapped in the struggle by inferiority of numbers; but they seem handicapped too by a lack of that political ambition and talent which has given the English Parliamentary system its pre-eminence among systems of government. The trouble is partly of course that the very success of the English-speaking South African in other fields of activity makes him loth to endure the hazards and personal struggles of a political career; with the result that the great majority of English-speaking members of the House of Assembly are of the kind who have been no great success in business life. Except for a sprinkling of lawyers, they are mostly poorly educated; and they are lacking in leadership and time-serving in political behaviour. In England, Mr. Lyttelton takes naturally to politics and brings his experience of industry to the service of the State. In South Africa, on the other hand, his equivalent, Mr. John Martin, prefers to exercise from without the political influence which accompanies the large concentration of economic power in the gold-mining industry. The result is that the standing of Parliament, deprived as it is of significant figures from industry and commerce, inevitably suffers. There are of course other reasons why more young English-speaking South Africans are not recruited into politics. The most important is that, unless a political aspirant is either a lawyer or a farmer, he cannot afford the long periods of absence from his business. Another is the growing and dictatorial power of the party machine, which has recently tended to discourage men of ability and independence from entering Parliament. The back benches in the present House of Assembly are lamentably deficient in potential ministers.

Lack of Political Leaders.

50. It is a regrettable fact that since Union the English-speaking people have not contributed a single leader of the first rank to the political life of the country as they did in the old days of the Cape Parliament. They have had to go to Afrikaners for their leaders. First General Botha, then General Smuts has had their allegiance. Now the question which overshadows the political life of the country is the identity of General Smuts' successor. Mr. Hofmeyr looked as if he might

secure the support of the English-speaking population; that prospect, however, is receding and Dr. Steyn, at any rate in Natal, appears now to be the favourite, while Mr. Havenga, with the support of the mining interests, is (as I have said above) by no means yet out of the running. There is not an English-speaking politician who can claim to be the representative of his section of the people as a whole, far less one who can aspire to the Premiership. Is it any wonder that the English-speaking people have made so little contribution in the past to the development of a specific South African patriotism, or that, having failed to produce the political leaders who could represent their attitudes and aspirations, they have been able to do so little to mitigate the extremes of Afrikaner nationalism? In the fundamental question of the Union's relationship with the British Commonwealth of Nations it has been left to General Smuts to raise the issue to the plane of philosophic statesmanship. Colonel Stallard, on the other hand, has done much harm to the cause of Commonwealth unity and repelled the Afrikaners by his constitutional pedantry, his old-fashioned Imperialist outlook and his lack of interest in the progressive social reform. It is one of the tragedies of the present situation that no English-speaking leader has had the capacity to bring a healthy South African nationalism and loyalty to the Commonwealth ideal together in a satisfactory synthesis.

51. It would be a mistake, however, to leave the picture that I have painted unillumined by any ray of hope. While the " uitlander " mentality still persists to a surprising degree among the wealthier sections of the English-speaking population, who mould their manners and ideas on those of the English upper middle class, the younger generation in the early years of manhood give many evidences of a needed South African patriotism and a willingness to meet their Afrikaner fellow-countrymen half way. Many of them realize that it is time that their people took a fuller share in the political life of the country and that British culture and traditions still have a fruitful contribution to make to a specifically South African " way of life." Much depends on the willingness of young men and still more of their parents of British stock born in South Africa to shoulder the hazards and responsibilities of public service, and to regard Parliamentary life as one of the highest forms of service in the community.

52. I cannot close this section without a special reference to the Jewish vote. South African Jewry is almost solidly Zionist and has been one of the financial mainstays of the Palestine experiment, in support of which it is completely " organized." It is behind General Smuts largely because of his continuous and active support of the Jewish cause in Palestine. The Malcolm MacDonald white paper* just before the war and its endorsement by the British House of Commons came as a bitter blow to South African Jewry, which to this day remains suspicious of what it describes as the pro-Arab policy of the British Foreign Office. A recent factor has been the prominence of South African Jews in movements such as " Medical aid for Russia," the " Friends of the Soviet Union " and the public agitation for a second front in Western Europe. The small Communist groups in Johannesburg and Cape Town are largely dominated and organized by Jews. Jewish political activity is now largely inspired by concern about the anti-Semitic attitude of the Opposition groups; and South African Jewry is very much on the defensive.

(F) THE IMMEDIATE POLITICAL CONFLICT.

53. In the preceding sections I have attempted to sketch in the background and perspective against which the political conflict in the Union should be set. As the present Parliament nears the end of its statutory life this conflict grows in intensity. A general election is due to be held next year and matters of the utmost significance hang upon its result. In the paragraphs that follow I propose to give an account of the factors that may be expected to have a bearing on the issue.

54. The final decision as to whether or not the election will be held within the period prescribed by the Act of Union is still to be taken. A decision to postpone it will have to be validated by an Act passed through Parliament at its next session in January; so that General Smuts will not have to make up his mind until then. It is certain that he will not go to the country next year unless he is reasonably sure of a successful result: the 1924 elections which brought the Nationalists to power were a lesson in the unwisdom of precipitate action. At the same time there are urgent reasons why the general election should not be postponed longer than is absolutely necessary. The country is growing rapidly weary of the present Cabinet; but no adequate reconstruction of it is possible until the new men worthy of Cabinet rank are brought into Parliament. The Opposition groups are now absorbed in intensive feuds and the prospects of reconciliation seem farther away than ever; but it is the fear of United Party officials, apparently not altogether unfounded in a country of such vicissitudes in politics, that some major error of the Government may yet drive them into a patched-up unity. On the other hand, if the decline of the Ossewa Brandwag proceeds at its present pace for any considerable time, the Nationalists will have so grown in power at its expense that they may in fact embody in their own ranks the much talked of unity of Afrikanerdom; and the Government will be faced at the polls, not by two (or even more) mutually contending groups, but by a Nationalist Party much stronger than it is at this moment. Finally, and most important of all, it is essential that the elections be held and a strong Government be given a five years' lease of power before the inevitable backwash of the post-war years threatens to engulf the United Party and the forces represented by General Smuts.

55. Such are the considerations which may prompt General Smuts to decide, if that is at all practicable, upon a general election in the first half of next year. The Delimitation Commission is now busily engaged, and half its work is finished. If the voters' roll based upon the new delimitation can be completed in time, it is the aim of United Party organisers to press for an election before the middle of the year and before political prospects can be influenced by the hazards of war in the European summer.

* Cmd. 6019.

56. The following table gives a picture of the state of parties and groups in the House of Assembly (*a*) after the formation of General Smuts' Government in September, 1939; and (*b*) in August, 1942:—

	September, 1939.	August, 1942.
A.—Government Coalition Total	85	86
United Party	69	71*
Dominion Party	9	8
Labour Party	4	4
Natives' Representatives	3	3
B.—Opposition Total	67	66
" Re-united " Nationalist Party	67	—
New Order (Pirow) Group	—	17 (Formed March, 1941.)
Afrikaner Party	—	9† (Formed January, 1941.)

* Gain of two made up by secession of Mr. Shearer from Dominion Party and Mr. Quinlan from Afrikaner Party.

† Mr. Quinlan, the tenth member of the party went over to the United Party in the 1942 session.

57. It is clear from the above table that the division on the war issue has for three years been remarkably stable. The only Member to change sides is Mr. Quinlan, of Germiston, who was also the only English-speaking Member to follow General Hertzog in his secession from the United Party. Within the Government coalition one member of the Dominion Party has gone over to the United Party. In the Parliamentary by-elections at Newcastle and Riversdale the United Party and the Nationalists respectively retained the seats; and in a series of Provincial Council elections held last April the rigidity of present divisions was once again strikingly demonstrated.

" The Drift to the Towns."

58. The next general election, however, will be fought on the basis of the new delimitation of constituencies which is now in progress. The function of this re-delimitation is to reflect in the electoral sphere movements of population from one area to another and is based on the data obtained from the quinquennial census. For more than twenty years " the drift to the towns " has been one of the most significant developments in South African life; this tendency has been accelerated by the rapid growth of the gold mines and other industries since 1932, which has drawn many thousands of Afrikaans from the platteland to the Witwatersrand and the other cities. Between the years 1931 and 1936 the European population of the Witwatersrand increased by no less than one-third and an equal increase has taken place since then. Other urban areas which have shown considerable gains in population are Pretoria, Vereeniging, and Durban, but there is hardly a part of the country where the country districts are not losing population to the towns. The Delimitation Commission which is now at work has decided to allocate the 150 seats of the House of Assembly (the three native constituencies of the Cape Province are, of course, not taken into account) between the four provinces as follows:—Transvaal 64; Cape 56, Orange Free State 14; and Natal 16. This means that the Transvaal will gain four seats, three at the expense of the rural areas of the Cape and one at the expense of the Free State; there will be no change in Natal's representation. But within the Transvaal itself the towns will make considerable gains at the expense of the platteland. The Witwatersrand will not only receive the four seats taken from the other provinces but it will obtain two from the rural areas as well. Its total will be 32 instead of 26 at present. Pretoria will increase its representation from six to seven seats. If Vereeniging and Losberg, two urban constituencies closely linked with the Witwatersrand, are included in the latter, the result is that the urban areas of the Transvaal will have no less than 41 seats as against the 23 held by the Transvaal platteland; and that the Witwatersrand alone will have as many seats as the whole of the Transvaal and Free State rural areas combined.

59. The founders of the Union had expressly safeguarded the position of the platteland against the towns by authorizing the Delimitation Commission to reduce the size of rural constituencies by 15 per cent. below the numerical average and to increase the size of urban constituencies by the same proportion. While no commission went to the limit of this discrimination, a situation existed before the present commission began its work in which the incidence of the " load " upon the towns, aggravated by the drift away from the platteland, made it possible for some rural constituencies to have only 4,500 voters as against more than 10,000 in some Witwatersrand divisions. That situation is obviously intolerable, and it is being drastically corrected by the present Commission which has allowed for a differentiation in favour of the countryside of never more than 10 per cent.

60. The consternation of the Nationalist Party newspapers is the measure of the revolution which is being wrought by this shift of the balance of political power from the countryside to the towns. *Die Volksblad*, of Bloemfontein, for example, calls it a " political tragedy." The Nationalist stronghold of the Orange Free State, which had so often, since Union, taken the lead in great issues of national significance and had, indeed, produced General Hertzog, their greatest leader, would now have two or three seats less than the city of Johannesburg alone (without the Witwatersrand); and *Die Transvaler* has uttered a similar lamentation over the reduced power of the Transvaal platteland. Dr. Malan has solemnly warned his followers that it is on the Witwatersrand that the Nationalist struggle will be lost or won; and just as the Dutch Reformed Church is now actively engaged in rounding up its " wandering sheep " on the Witwatersrand, so too, is the Nationalist Party assiduous in trying to confirm in the large Afrikaner population of this area the consciousness of their racial " separateness."

Witwatersrand Holds the Balance.

61. The special importance of the Witwatersrand in the political system of the Union, lies not only in the number of representatives it sends to Parliament (although that is more than one-fifth of the total membership of the House of Assembly) but also in the fact that the other principal geographical divisions of the country are so stereotyped in their political allegiances, and so nearly counter-balance each other that whoever wins the Witwatersrand is assured of a majority in Parliament. The solidly pro-Government areas are the Cape Peninsula (where all 12 seats in the present House of Assembly are held by the United Party); the Eastern Province of the Cape; Natal (where only one seat out of sixteen is held by a former Nationalist who is now the able and impartial Speaker of the House of Assembly); and the Eastern Transvaal, a stronghold of the South African Party. The solidly Opposition areas, on the other hand, are the Cape Province from the borders of the Cape Peninsula eastwards to the borders of Port Elizabeth and northwards through the whole of the central uplands to the Orange River; the Orange Free State, where, with the exception of one Bloemfontein seat held by Dr. Colin Steyn, the Minister of Justice, and the Frankfort seat held by General Manie Botha, the Opposition groups have undisputed predominance; the Western Transvaal, where the Nationalist landowner, General Kemp, holds sway; and the Northern Transvaal, where Mr. Strydom has established his ascendency. On the limits of these chief geographical divisions are debatable borderlands where the political conflict attains a special intensity; but they do not invalidate the generalization that, with the Witwatersrand left out of consideration, the rest of the country is remarkably evenly divided between republican, anti-war Opposition and the supporters of the Government.

62. The Witwatersrand, then, holds the key to the political conflict. In the general election of 1938 it did not return a single Malanite; five of its members followed General Hertzog in his secession from the United Party at the outbreak of war. I have already said that one of them, the member for Germiston, and the only English-speaking member to follow General Hertzog's lead in September, 1939, has since returned to his former allegiance. His action betrayed a realization that he would not retain his seat as an opponent of the war. Two Members joined the Afrikaner Party when it was formed in protest at the Nationalists' treatment of General Hertzog; and the remaining two former Hertzogites now support Dr. Malan. It is instructive to examine the nature of the constituencies represented by these members. One is Vrededorp, the most disgraceful European slum in the whole of the Union, where poor whites from the platteland who have resisted attempts at rehabilitation have crowded together under appalling conditions; another is the unskilled industrial workers' suburb of Fordsburg. This is represented by Mr. B. H. Schoeman, an able young Afrikaner who is one of the few Nationalist Members of Paliament with any understanding of the problems of industrial labour and social reform. The other two are constituencies on the edge of the urban areas where town merges gradually into country.

63. So far, it is clear, the Nationalist Party has found few adherents among the workers of the Witwatersrand. The causes of this failure are not difficult to discover. The Nationalist Party is still dominated by the Dutch Reformed Church and by the large landholders who exercise semi-patriarchal authority over their less fortunate (or efficient) neighbours and the poor whites who live on sufferance on their land. Between them and the town workers there is in fact actual conflict of economic interest. The farming interest has used its political power to blackmail the Government with great success, and the peace-time system of subsidizing the export of foodstuffs at enormous cost both to the health and pocket of the South African consumer is a tribute to its zeal. Moreover, the young Afrikaner moving from farm to gold mine makes in a few years a transition which his relatives in the platteland take time to accomplish. Between them there is fixed the gulf which divides the rootless civilization of the town from the traditional ways of farming life.

Nationalists' Sentimental Appeal.

64. In the absence of common economic interests the Nationalist Party in its approach to the Afrikaners of the towns bases its appeal on sentiment. While it would be a mistake to under-estimate the power of this appeal, it is clear that the Boer tradition and folk myth tend to wilt in the alien atmosphere of the towns. All experience, moreover, has shown that the Nationalists will not succeed in securing the support of the Afrikaans-speaking populations of the large towns by means of the sentimental appeal alone; and it is debarred by its very nature from emerging as the champion of working-class interests. Nevertheless, a strenuous attempt was begun five years ago by a group of young Nationalist intellectuals headed by a son of General Hertzog to import into the sphere of trades union organization the isolationist tendencies that, as I have already described, are now flourishing in many parts of South African life. Provided with considerable funds by a fortunate bequest, they set about organizing within the powerful Mineworkers' Union an Afrikaner bloc which, it was hoped, would eventually capture control of the Union. This control was to be used in the interests of the Nationalist Party and in ways which would embarrass the war effort even to the point of precipitating a general strike on the Witwatersrand. The plot gave the Government and the heads of the mining interest some anxious moments in the first years of the war; but its failure has been an encouraging demonstration of the refusal of Afrikaans workers on the Witwatersrand to be seduced by political and racial cries to the detriment of their economic and social interests.

65. With these considerations in mind I believe that there is no reason at all to fear within the near future any considerable swing-over on the Witwatersrand towards Nationalism. The Government coalition should be able to hold its own in these most vital areas; and unless the course of the war sets in motion some catastrophic collapse of the United Party's power in areas where in the past it has been securely established, the Government coalition should be returned to power by a reasonable margin.

66. If, however, the prospects of the present Government in war-time seem reasonably secure, one enters a field of much more hazardous speculation when the post-war situation is considered. The crux of this question is the role which will be played in post-war South Africa by the Labour Party. In the elections of 1920 the Labour Party swept the towns at the expense of the Unionists,

from whom the present United Party is in the main descended. The inevitable post-war reaction was in full swing, hopes of social improvement were in the air and the Labour Party, with no less than 21 members, held the balance of power. With this comfortable precedent in mind, the leaders of the present Labour Party are showing signs of increasing self-confidence and a disposition to exact the fullest advantage from the situation. Their leader, Mr. Madeley, is in the Cabinet, and, as Minister of Labour, has succeeded in piloting through Parliament a number of useful measures for the benefit of the skilled European workers. Nevertheless, leading members of the party and his weekly newspaper at Johannesburg are not taking up an increasingly independent attitude towards the Government; and leading members of the Labour Party are active in the agitation for a fuller mobilization of the country's resources, industrial and human. The Labour Party is now engaged in the congenial task of drafting elaborate programmes of social welfare for the post-war world; in the process they are stealing a march on the United Party, which is prevented from putting up an effective competition partly by absorption in the responsibilities of office but much more by the deference of most members of the Government to various vested interests and their refusal to recognise the widespread drift of opinion in the democratic countries towards the Left. The Labour Party is showing a special concern for the interests of the soldiers; and in this respect is engaged in a vigorous rivalry with the Communists, whose Springbok Legion (founded in the soldiers' interest) may grow in time to be an important political force.

Labour and the Dominion Party.

67. The Labour Party is not waiting for the end of the war to establish its claim to a larger representation in the House of Assembly. It has already presented the United Party organizers with a demand to be allowed to contest at least eight seats on the Witwatersrand in addition to the two it already holds; and in the eight Durban seats it is now busily engaged in undermining the position of the right-wing Dominion Party, with whom it is associated at the moment only by a common alliance with the United Party. It is already in virtual control of the Durban City Council; and there seems little doubt that, with public opinion moving, as it is, to the Left, the Labour Party should not have much difficulty in disposing of the Dominion Party, whose reactionary attitude in constitutional and social questions has made it increasingly unpopular. The United Party might be forgiven if it chafed under the alliance with the Dominion Party which prevents it from joining in the scramble for the Durban seats.

68. There are those in the United Party who fear that after the war a much strengthened Labour Party will recreate the " pact " with the Nationalists that brought General Hertzog's Government to power in 1924. On that occasion the alliance was made possible by the Nationalists on the one hand promising not to use the majority so obtained for destroying the link with Britain and by the Labour Party on the other undertaking to go slow in its agitation for the establishment of a " Socialist Commonwealth " in South Africa. Dr. Malan in the years of the present war, however, has gone far beyond the stage in his republican agitation which General Hertzog reached twenty years ago; and with the campaign now at its height it hardly seems possible that he could renounce, even temporarily, that ideal. On the other hand, he knows perfectly well that he will never come to power by constitutional means without the support of some section of the English-speaking people; and he may well consider that, until they have been converted to the republican programme, the attainment of power, even if that meant compromise or postponement on the republican issue, would be preferable to a frustrated existence in opposition.

69. Between the Nationalist and Labour Parties are fundamental differences in outlook; but on the great overriding question of the African native's place in society they have much in common. The Nationalists fear the competition of the native worker with their weaker brethren, the poor whites; and it is a cardinal principle in their programme to extend the colour bar to every field of economic and social life. The Labour Party, for its part, as the representative exclusively of European workers, is filled with a deep suspicion of the capitalist employing class who exercise so great an influence on the United Party. It watches with some alarm the dawning realization of the need for giving the native greater opportunities in industry as a prime condition of developing manufactures in this country. It fears that the large employers of labour may, after the war, attempt to use native semi-skilled labour as an instrument to weaken the position and bargaining power of the white trades unionists. This was exactly the issue which precipitated the great strike on the Witwatersrand in 1922; and the danger, from the narrowly trades union standpoint, seems real enough. At the same time, the most elementary justice for the African people as well as the vital interests of this country call for the abolition of the restrictions on the employment of natives in industry. In the long run such a policy would be to the advantage of the white workers no less than to that of the country as a whole. How to combine a due regard for the immediate interests of the white worker with the safeguarding of the country's future as a whole is one of the most obstinate problems in the political life of the country. Upon its solution hang issues of the utmost significance. In the meantime it cannot be too strongly emphasized that the Labour Party which after the war may hold the balance of political power is still, despite its present agitation for measures of social improvement, a definitely reactionary force on the most important of all South African issues.

(G) NATIVES, CAPE COLOURED AND INDIANS.

70. It is one of the major anomalies of South African life that the political conflict which rages within the ranks of the European population touches fundamental social issues at so few points. The struggle over the republican issue, which is coming to absorb the energies of the main political parties, is at bottom the struggle between an aggressive and exclusive nationalism which seeks to secure the domination of the State by one section of the white population, and an English-speaking minority determined to maintain its political, economic and social position in the State. But above the contending parties, and almost ignored by them, looms the shadow of the non-European peoples, increasingly aware both of the disabilities to which they are subjected and of the complete dependence of the white man's society upon their labour. The white people have failed to adjust their political

institutions to the overriding economic fact that the whole social structure of the country is built up on the basis of native and coloured labour. They have continued, to the point of positive danger, to uphold an untenable dichotomy between a " political " population of two millions and an " economic " population of ten millions. Until this dichotomy is resolved there can be no guarantee of the permanence of real European civilization in the sub-continent.

71. At a time when the growing industrialization of South Africa was bringing natives in ever-increasing numbers to the towns, the white South Africans chose in their political thinking to turn their backs on economic reality and to pretend that the " native problem " had been " solved " by General Hertzog's Native Acts of 1936 and the official adoption of the theory of segregation. The native population, it was said, would be encouraged to " develop on their own lines " in areas demarcated from those of European settlement; and General Hertzog made a solemn promise about funds for native land purchase which has not been fulfilled in practice. At that very moment, however, complaints of farmers about the native labour shortage were growing in volume; the gold mines were denuding the native areas of young males; the South African system of native taxation was still being applied in all its rigour to force natives out of the reserves into European employment; and native administration was proceeding with its policy of destroying the reality of tribal institutions. In the year when General Hertzog was expounding in Parliament a segregationalist theory which flew in the face of facts and of every economic trend in South Africa, natives made up no less than 38 per cent. of the total poulation of the towns. That proportion has increased in the intervening years.

72. Only six years later, however, the time had come for another Prime Minister to show up the segregationist idea for the unreality it was. General Smuts, in a large meeting in Cape Town at which I was present last January, snatched away its large shreds of respectability when he described the economic revolution that was now taking place in South Africa and roundly declared that the process of industrialization and urbanization of the natives had finally destroyed the practicability of segregation as a policy of government. White South Africa, he made it clear, had a solemn obligation as trustee to pursue the welfare of the native people. " Even if we do not do it in the interest of the natives," he said, " we will have to do it in our own interest: because if we do not there will be something to pay." This, of course, is no novel doctrine to people grounded in the liberal tradition and it is at least as old as Christianity itself: but it is significant of the South African attitude in these matters that a few words of lucid common sense in the mouth of a Prime Minister should be accorded the status of a new revelation.

The Reserves.

73. For more than half a century now the native reserves of the Cape Eastern Province have not been able to support their inhabitants from their own resources. Overcrowding and overstocking have brought erosion and loss of fertility. While the European owner of thousands of acres of land might pay no income tax, a native pays 20*s.* or 30*s.* if he owns a hut in the reserves. Shortly before the war a duty of £250,000 was collected on blankets for the use of natives in the reserves valued at £443,000. The threat of starvation and the necessity of earning a money wage to pay a money tax have combined to force the able-bodied young native males to spend long periods of their lives in employment on the farms, the mines or in industry. In the countryside the docility and competition of native labour have prevented the transformation of the poor whites into a class of farm labourers; and when these same poor whites drifted to the towns they found themselves at hopeless disadvantage in competition for unskilled work with the urban native population. Natives in unskilled jobs before the migration of poor whites to the towns had held a virtual monopoly of unskilled and manual labour. There had, indeed, developed a group of natives equal and often superior in experience and efficiency to the poor white who began to populate the slums of Johannesburg and other cities. By 1911, with the passage of the Mines and Works Act (amended and extended by the notorious " Colour Bar " Act of 1926), South Africa was well launched on the policy of reserving the whole field of skilled labour to the European trades unionists and thus blocking the way of the new native proletariat towards economic and social improvement. In 1924, the restrictive policy was applied by Parliament to the field of unskilled labour in the interests of the poor white populations of the towns. In that year the Department of Labour was set up by the first Nationalist Government to protect certain fields for unskilled white labour, and the " civilized labour " policy was enforced on the State railways. Whereas in 1921 there were 4,700 white labourers on the railways, this figure had increased to nearly 16,000 in 1928.

74. Between the years 1921 and 1936 the native population of the towns was almost doubled; in 1942 it amounts to nearly 1¾ millions. The conditions of life of this urban proletariat were described in my despatch, No. 238, of the 10th December, 1941*. It is clear that both by legislative and by administrative means every conceivable obstacle has been placed in the way of its rise in the social and economic scale. The native worker is denied any form of technical training and excluded even from unskilled work in which he might compete with European labourers; his trades unions are specifically excluded from the processes of collective bargaining provided by the Industrial Conciliation Act and the provision for the education of his children is shockingly inadequate. In 1939 the State expended £10,500,000 on European education, £934,300 on Native education and £965,100 on the education of Indians and Cape Coloured. This works out at an expenditure per head of population of £5 for Europeans; 2*s.* 8*d.* for natives; and 18*s.* 6*d.* for Asiatics and Cape Coloured.

75. In the circumstances it is not surprising that the level of native wages is so low and that the great majority of native families in the towns are unable to rise to the standard of a decent and tolerable existence. As the agricultural reserves deteriorate still further under the pressure of expanding population, the movement to the towns will be accelerated. Already the consequences are

* No. 12.

being brought home to the Europeans by a disturbing increase of crime in recent months. A Committee has been set up by the Minister of Justice, in response to a public outcry for increased police protection, to enquire into the causes of the present native " crime wave." In evidence before it, a high police official in Johannesburg has stated that " unless something drastic is done to save the native youth of to-day we shall be faced with a serious problem in the future, not only on the Witwatersrand but in all the larger centres of the Union." There were, he continued, probably tens of thousands of unemployed native youths roaming the streets, and it was an urgent duty to prevent them from falling into crime. The community had the duty of striving to make decent and well-behaved citizens out of them. Better educational facilities, " having regard to the existing race prejudice," should be provided; and increased opportunities for decent employment should be opened up.

Expansion of Industries.

76. The one hopeful factor in a depressing situation is the liberalising influence which the new expansion of industry is already beginning to exert on the public mind. It is everywhere admitted that a rise in native purchasing power is the first condition of the successful development of secondary manufactures in South Africa; another essential is a vast increase in the reservoir of skilled and semi-skilled labour, which cannot be provided by the present European population. The Labour Party, as I have said above, stands in the way of a relaxation of the restrictions on the employment of natives in skilled or semi-skilled work in industry; and the Nationalist Party will certainly, if and when it attains power, do its best to ensure that every poor Afrikaner who is capable of work will be absorbed into industry before any field is opened to native workers. But if the expansion of secondary industry takes place on anything like the scale which will be necessary to make up for the inevitable decline in the productivity of the gold mines, there should be a great increase of opportunity for native workers.

77. Up to a few years ago the hopes of liberal-minded South Africans for an improvement in the social and economic position of the native population were concentrated on the battle for political rights. In 1936, however, Boer traditions triumphed over the Cape liberal ideal of equal rights for all civilized men. General Hertzog, at the head of the " Fusion " Government, forced the Cape Liberals to agree to the abolition of the native vote in the Cape constituencies and the substitution of the separate native " communal " roll. The Cape natives were given the right to choose three Europeans to represent them in Parliament. These representatives have just completed their first term of five years in the House of Assembly, and it is generally agreed that they have discharged a most difficult duty with considerable devotion and ability. One of them, Mrs. Ballinger (who is perhaps the ablest private member on the Government side) has now been returned unopposed for a further period of five years. These members have done much to educate public opinion as well as Parliament itself on native matters; but their exiguous number gives them little influence on policy. In the Senate the natives are represented by four European members. Of these one is elected by the natives of the Transvaal and Orange Free State combined, one by the Natal and two by the Cape natives. Apart from this representation by Europeans in Parliament, the natives of the Union are represented in the Natives' Representative Council by 12 elected and four nominated native members. The Council began its career with high hopes five years ago; it was given by the Act of 1936 certain advisory and consultative functions, and it has on the whole performed its limited functions with good sense and ability. But so far from increasing in authority it has learnt from bitter experience that the tendering of advice, however reasonable, is a long way from acceptance by Government; and some of its ablest members are becoming a prey to cynicism and a sense of frustration.

78. It seems clear enough now that the struggle for political rights has no prospect of success in the face of the almost united opposition of white South Africans. At the same time, the mere possession of political rights has, even in most democratic countries, lost much of its appeal for the masses of the people. The emphasis in recent years has shifted to the economic sphere and every indication goes to show that the awakening self-consciousness of the non-European peoples in the Union will find its most effective expression in the struggle for economic and social opportunity. At present, however, the natives of the Union have produced no leaders capable of uniting them in a national organization; the poverty and lack of education of the mass of the people make a poor foundation for political agitation, and the African National Congress falls far short in reality of its impressive name. The natives remain pathetically loyal to the British Crown and to the memory of Queen Victoria. They look back to the liberal policy of British administrations in Cape Colony, and they watch with interest and pride and envy the progress of Basutoland under Imperial administration. They unanimously oppose the concept of an Afrikaner republic.

Communist Activity.

79. The only European political group which shows any interest in the organization of the natives is the Communist Party, whose importance without this activity would be inconsiderable. Standing as it does for the abolition of all discrimination based on race and colour, it is not likely to gain many adherents among the European population: so far its converts have been drawn in the main from the European " intellectuals " of Johannesburg and Cape Town. But to the native and coloured proletariat of the towns the Communist doctrine has an instant appeal and the party is active in the organization of the non-European trades unions. Its general secretary is Moses Kotane, a native from the Eastern Province. Its influence is shortly to be tested by the elections for a European senator to represent the natives of the two Northern Provinces and for the two urban members of the Natives' Representative Council. In both of these elections Communist candidates have come forward.

80. The present situation of the Cape Coloured people holds a special tragedy of its own. Their numbers are small (800,000) as compared with the large total (about 7,000,000) of the native population; and until quite recently they had every hope of avoiding the fate that attends those who are depressed by the South African social system to the status of a "problem." In the old Cape Colony they had full and equal rights of citizenship and in the years of his first Administration General Hertzog enunciated the principle that they were an integral part of the white community and could not be made the victims of discrimination. Within a few years, however, the Nationalist Party's policy had begun to apply the narrow doctrines of racial exclusiveness to the Cape Coloured people. This development was partly the result of the growing dominance of the two Northern Provinces in the party's counsels and partly the realization that the Coloured vote in the Cape (to which it had been confirmed by the Act of Union) was solidly anti-Nationalist, despite the linguistic affinities with the Afrikaners.

81. In 1930 the Nationalist Government extended the franchise to European women but denied it to coloured women, and the following year franchise was accorded to white adult males but hedged around with numerous qualifications for coloured men. By 1938 Dr. Malan had raised the cry of residential "segregation" for coloured people in the towns of the Cape Province; and that is now the accepted policy of the Nationalist Party. Socially, the coloured people are being thrust beyond the pale; and economically they are being subjected to numerous handicaps by such extra-legislative means as the failure to provide them with proper technical education and with opportunities for apprenticeship in skilled trades. Whereas education is compulsory for white children no such compulsion is yet applied to the coloured people; there would not be nearly enough schools available for them if it were. An example of present tendencies is the recent plea by *Die Burger*, the Nationalist organ in Cape Town, for the establishment of a third kind of school reserved for children on the debatable border-line between white and coloured. The Cape Coloured Corps have had a distinguished record in East Africa and Libya in the present war, and their leaders are naturally stressing this fact in claims for better treatment at the hands of the Government. At present 28,000 coloured persons are voters in constituencies in the Cape Province. Their votes are likely to be cast solidly for supporters of the war and General Smuts.

Indian Political Situation.

82. This despatch is already too long to attempt the inclusion of any adequate summary of the Indian political question in South Africa. It must suffice to report that the Indian communities are at one in their demand for some political rights—at present denied to them—and they seek representation on Municipal Councils, Provincial Councils and in the House of Assembly as British subjects. In Durban in particular there are many wealthy educated Indians who pay large sums in rates to the Municipality but are denied representation either on the common roll of ratepayers or on a separate communal franchise. They are in fact subjected to segregation and a good deal of social ostracism. In my view the main obstacle to any political and social concessions to Indians is the fear on the part of the European voter that any concessions to Indians is but the thin end of the wedge to further concessions to African natives. Indeed, I am myself clear that the Indian question cannot be isolated, and it is an integral part of the political and social status of all non-Europeans. The Indians themselves are emphatic that they are superior to "Kaffirs" and must be differentiated from them. Ostensibly their demand is still for representation on common electoral rolls with the Europeans. I am certain that this will never be accorded by any South African Parliament, and that the only chance is some form of separate communal representation. The Indians would only accept this if the representation thus accorded were by persons of Indian race. This would not only create great social difficulties, but would immediately raise the question of representation of African natives by natives instead of as at present by Europeans.

83. There is little prospect of the Indian and natives making common cause over any issue. Indeed, there is little love lost between them particularly in Natal, where Indians are most numerous and well organized. In Natal both Europeans and natives feel the impact of Indian economic competition, as well as the different habits and way of life of the Indian settler. The poorer classes of Indian in and around Durban—mostly Tamil Hindus—live in extreme squalor and have in effect an even lower standard of living and personal dignity than the Zulus, who form the local African population. In pride and physique the Zulu is the aristocrat, with great warlike traditions among the Union's African natives. Consequently the Zulu tends to despise the Tamil and his political aspirations. I refer to this to illustrate the intense complexity and difficulties of the Indian problem.

84. This despatch is an attempt to give a long-range view of the political outlook in South Africa. My conclusions may appear depressing. But there is one final reason for some optimism and this is the continued health and vigour of General Smuts. If he is spared to lead South Africa not only through the war to victory but also during the difficult period of reconstruction, his individual influence on the course of history may be a corrective of the many dangerous clashes inherent in the present body politic. In experience, wisdom and foresight he is pre-eminent. His loyalty and courage never falter, and if one great man can divert apparent forces and make history the whole Commonwealth may be grateful for his outstanding services to South Africa, the Empire and humanity.

I have, &c.,

HARLECH,

High Commissioner.

Z. 507/3.

No. 6.

DESPATCH

from

HIGH COMMISSIONER IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA FOR HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

(Received 13th May, 1943.)

(South Africa.)

(No. 144.)

Cape Town, 16th April, 1943.

SIR,

I have the honour to report that in recent weeks a strenuous debate on Communist activity in South Africa has been carried on in Parliament and the Press. The Communist "menace" has for many years occupied a not undistinguished place in the hierarchy of Afrikaner bogies; but by the outbreak of war long familiarity with it had reduced its fearsomeness in the eyes of all except a few Nationalist politicians and the predikants of the Dutch Reformed Church. In September, 1939, the pro-Government Press took up the cry. The *Cape Times* wrote bitterly about the "Moloch of Bolshevism" and "these two sinister colleagues in international crime—Hitler and Stalin." The latter was accused of imitating Hitler and of trying to "outrival the ferocity even of that paranoiac violator of the world's peace." The Nationalists, for their part, remained silent during the uneasy months of Russo-German collaboration: an attack on Stalin would be by implication an attack on Hitler and the Opposition groups were still living in the dream-world in which they hoped to receive the Afrikaner republic from the hands of a victorious Germany. Then in June, 1941, the colours of the political kaleidoscope were set violently in motion by the shock of the German attack on Russia, and red again became to Afrikaners a portent of ruin and disaster.

2. It takes no great degree of cynicism to see in the Opposition's revived obsession with the Communist "menace" the effect of the approaching election. But the very fact that these groups have thought it worth while refurbishing the old bogy as the chief support of their election propaganda and parading it up and down the platteland proves the existence among a large section of the white population of deeply-rooted fears of revolutionary and disintegrating doctrines. Opposition propagandists are "externalizing" those fears and giving a new twist to the century-old uneasiness of a small white community vastly outnumbered by the surrounding black or coloured population. The age-old black menace becomes streaked with red; a more horrific bogy is created; Stalin, in Afrikaner cartoons, stalks across the land attended by cohorts of little black African devils.

3. In recent months two developments have done much to bring the question of Communist activity into the foreground of discussion. One is the series of strikes of native workers in industry on the Witwatersrand, which was reported in my despatch No. 58 of the 15th February*. The other is the success of Russian arms. The industrial troubles were the product of legitimate grievances and were, indeed, everywhere accepted as significant indications of a deep-seated maladjustment in the social structure; at the same time a surprising number of people succumbed to the temptation to lay the blame on Communist "agitators" and General Smuts himself openly declared that the principal reason for the Government's refusal to extend legal recognition to the native trade unions was his fear that they would fall under the control of Communists. After the relief of Stalingrad and when the German armies were retreating before the Russian offensives, the much greater fear took shape of the possible predominance of Russian power on the continent of Europe after the war, with a great increase of Russian influence in the world at large, including South Africa.

4. Such is the background to the anti-communist agitation which is now absorbing the energies of the Opposition groups. Early in the present session Mr. Eric Louw introduced a motion into the House of Assembly expressing "deep concern in regard to growth of communistic propaganda and activities in the Union and the already visible effects thereof on the non-European population, as is evidenced by the recent riots and also by the provocative attitude of non-Europeans towards Europeans; this House," the motion continues "is convinced that the adoption of communistic doctrines by the non-European population will have a disastrous effect upon the relations between the European and non-European races and will eventually threaten the continued existence of European civilization in South Africa; this House therefore requests the Government to consider the advisability of taking immediate steps—

(*a*) to declare as illegal the Communist Party and all organizations which propagate or encourage communistic doctrines;

(*b*) to prohibit the propagation and encouragement of communistic doctrines whether by means of speeches, distribution of literature, showing of cinema films or by any other means; and

(*c*) to deport aliens who enunciate or propagate communistic doctrines and to prohibit entry into the Union of immigrants of whom it is known that they propagate or subscribe to communistic doctrines;

this House is further of opinion that the arming of non-European soldiers and the presence of Union of Socialist Soviet Republics diplomatic representatives in the Union are contributing factors towards the growth of communism and therefore requests the Government to discontinue the arming of non-European soldiers and to sever existing consular relations with the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics."

5. I have quoted the terms of this motion in full because it very fairly summarizes the attitude of the Afrikaner opposition groups. Mr. Louw's speech introducing the motion was a long-winded but effective elaboration of this theme. He reminded the Prime Minister that he himself had only a few days before expressed his concern at Communist activity in the Union and he suggested that the Prime Minister was inhibited from effective action in the matter by the alliance with Russia.

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* No. 13.

Mr. Louw quoted extracts from letters he had received from English-speaking supporters of the Prime Minister commending him for his action in raising the issue. One from a " well-known man in Cape Town " expressed the opinion that " the enormous growth of Communistic activities in this country within the past two years has now become a menace to which the Government is apparently turning a blind eye in its anxiety to avoid any semblance of an affront to Russia." In England, too, Mr. Louw continued, people were alarmed by the growth of Communist activity. It was because of his sympathy with Russian Communism that Sir Stafford Cripps had been removed from his Cabinet office and from the leadership of the House of Commons. What the Opposition in the Union were concerned about was " the growing shadow of Joseph Stalin, which is extending more and more over Europe, which eventually will reach England and will not leave us untouched here in South Africa."

6. Mr. Louw went on to argue, from analogies with Great Britain and other countries, that the Communist Party in the Union " fell under the command of the Comintern " and of its international Executive Committee in Moscow. He read extracts from statements by Stalin himself and from official statements of Communist policy to prove that the Russian Government was concerned with attempts to stir up " mass action and revolutions " in foreign countries. Coming to the activity of Communists in South Africa he stressed their opposition to a colour bar, whether political, economic or social. " We have already noticed," he said, " what is happening in our country, in Cape Town, Johannesburg and elsewhere. We have noticed that when the Communists meet, white, yellow and black are all mixed up. Not only do they hold meetings together, but if any dancing takes place at those gatherings, then they dance together . . . It is not difficult to realize what it is going to mean to us if we are going to have social equality in this country."

7. Mr. Louw then made a diversion from his course to cast a sop to the growing body of anti-Semite feeling in South Africa. He emphasized the important part which Jews had played in the Communist movement in Russia and other countries, making great play with the names of Jews from Marx to Trotsky and from Bela Kun to Kurt Eisner. Here in the Union, too, he said, Jews were taking the leading part in the propagation of Communist doctrine and he mentioned a long list of names of Jewish trades union organizers, officials of the Communist Party, doctors and lawyers.

8. Turning to the method used by the Communist Parties of the world as a means to the accomplishment of their objective of world revolution, Mr. Louw quoted from the programme of the Communist International of 1932: " Mass action includes a combination of strikes and demonstrations, and finally the general strike conjointly with armed insurrection against the State powers of the *bourgeoisie*." There was no danger in South Africa, he said, of an armed uprising on the part of the Europeans; but the major part of the Communist propaganda in this country was directed at the natives. " First, there is the organizing of strikes and disturbances by the Communists and finally—and that has been the experience in Germany, China and Spain—after the strike has been organized, bloodshed and disorders result and these in turn result in revolution and in the dictatorship of the proletariat." Mr. Louw then referred to certain instructions said to have been given by the Comintern to an organization in the Union (of which I have no knowledge) called the South Africa Federation of Native Councils. " The Federation," the instruction reads, " must aim at the establishment of a Native Republic of South Africa. The organization of agricultural labourers is of supreme importance . . . The Federation must religiously follow the instructions of the Comintern for thus only can it become a truly militant body, comprising not only the native workers, but all wage slaves, without distinction of race and colour." When challenged by the Minister of Justice Mr. Louw was unable to give the date of this doctrinaire effusion. He went on to quote from a manifesto of the South Africa Communist Party in 1933, " calling upon the native and coloured workers, along with the white workers, to enrol in trade unions and mass organizations . . . and to form grievance committees in places of employment. The militant active coloureds and native and white toilers engaged in these struggles must take advice and leadership from the Communist Party. Only such a group of active, disciplined revolutionary leaders organized in the Communist Party can lead the coloureds, native and white toilers to emancipation and victory over British and Boer exploiters and oppressors."

9. Mr. Louw proceeded to make various charges about Communist propaganda in the army which he said was being conducted by the Sprinkbok Legion; and he strongly criticized the Government's decision to accept Soviet consular representatives in the Union. He said (unaware, no doubt, of Canada's recent appointment of a Minister in Moscow) that together with Canada and a number of other countries the Union had always refused to extend diplomatic recognition to the Russian Government. Now, however, because of military expediency, General Smuts had departed from that policy and admitted to the country a large number of Russians on diplomatic and official passports. " I suspect," he said, " that we are having the same experience here that other countries have had in regard to the consulates of Soviet Russia, namely that those consulates are used as propaganda centres of the Communist Party."

10. In conclusion Mr. Louw said that if Russia played a major part in the defeat of Germany there could be no doubt that it was she and not Great Britain who would dominate the continent of Europe after the war. It was, moreover, clear that sympathy with Communism was spreading in Britain as a result of the Russian alliance. " There are many people in England to-day who are very worried and are asking themselves whether they are going to pay too dear a price for Russia's help in this war. What about us in South Africa? We also have the right to ask whether we are not going to pay too high a price for Russia's help to England. If Communist propaganda among the Europeans and among the soldiers, but particularly among the coloured people and the natives, is allowed to go on in the way it is, I say we shall be paying a very high price."

11. The Minister of Justice, Dr. Colin Steyn, intervened at once to reply to the Opposition's motion. He wished, he said, to handle the question in a " calm and practical way." The Opposition demanded that certain steps should be taken against the Communist Party of South Africa. But what had the party done to contravene the law? There was no evidence that it was

responsible for the recent native strikes: Mr. Louw had brought forward merely " vague accusations ". So far as the trouble in the Pretoria municipal compound was concerned (see my despatch No. 58 of 15th February*) the judicial commission had not yet completed its report; and in the prosecutions which had arisen out of the disturbances in Natal not the slightest evidence of Communist responsibility had been laid before the court. All organizations were being carefully watched but the Government would not act recklessly or unjustly against any section. The Opposition had made ridiculously propagandist charges about the " shadow of Joseph Stalin " but they said nothing about the Nazi menace, which was a " much more practical danger."

12. A significant speech was made during the course of the rather inconsequent and rambling debate which followed by Mr. Long, who as a former Foreign Editor of *The Times* and editor of the *Cape Times* is regarded in the House as an expert on questions of foreign policy. He insisted that Mr. Louw's motion must be taken seriously. It was evident that the Communist idea must be potent in a country like South Africa in which large sections of the population lived under " unfavourable conditions." The Prime Minister himself, in his reply to a deputation from the English Churches which had pressed for the legislative recognition of native trade unions, had declared that Communist influence was abroad in the Union. But there was no reason to believe that this " influence " was directed from Moscow. The Russian Government, indeed, had entered into a twenty-year treaty of alliance with Great Britain in which it had expressly undertaken not to interfere in the internal affairs of the United Kingdom; and that guarantee could be taken as applying to this country also. Moreover, since the expulsion of Trotsky and the establishment of Stalin's undisputed power, there had been a marked decline in the missionary fervour of the Soviet Union; and even in Russia itself the practice and doctrine of Communism had been watered down.

13. Mr. Long proceeded to quote at some length from Mr. Joseph Davies' account of his mission to Moscow. He then made an admission which is significant of a fairly widespread feeling among many conservative supporters of the Government. He agreed with Mr. Louw that if it was true that after the war Russia was the dominant Power in Europe it would be quite possible—and even likely—that the missionary impulse of Communism would revive and that the Soviet Government, finding itself secure within its own borders, would once again try to spread the doctrines of Bolshevism. But a powerful factor against the establishment of such a domination was the grudge which the occupied countries of Europe would bear against Russia for its complicity in the outbreak of the war. " There will no doubt be a feeling of admiration for the way in which Russia has resisted and thrown back the German invasion, but there will be a very distinct line drawn, in my opinion, between their admiration for the achievements of the Russian army and their memories, which will be ugly memories, of the earlier policy of Joseph Stalin. And if that is so, then again we are justified in arguing that Mr. Louw has exaggerated the influence which Moscow is likely to have after the defeat of Germany, in propagating Communist doctrines in South Africa. Russia will have something much more serious to do. After having established the prestige of her military power she will then have to re-establish the prestige of her diplomacy and that will not be an easy thing to do." As for the local Communist Party, Mr. Louw wanted the Government to start a specially vindictive campaign against them. This, however, would be a very foolish thing to do for the South African Communists were " hardly worth the powder and shot of the Government."

14. I have quoted at some length from Mr. Long's speech, not because of its intrinsic merit but because it is an indication of the distrust and divided mind with which an important section of the Government's supporters regard the problem of relations with Russia in the post-war world. His speech was characterized by an Opposition speaker, Mr. Strydom, as that of a " modern Rip Van Winkle " who knew nothing of what was going on in the Union as well as in other countries. Mr. Strydom, for his part, did all he could to magnify Communist activity in the United Kingdom and as proof of its efficacy cited the Government's action in imposing a ban on the *Daily Worker*—a ban which had only recently been removed, no doubt on representations from Moscow. Mr. Long, he said, had nevertheless betrayed his anxiety about Communism but had suggested lamely that nothing could be done about it during the war but that afterwards the Union Government could do what it liked to suppress Communist activity in South Africa. He denied that the difference between Trotsky and Stalin was anything more than a difference of strategy.

15. The Minister of the Interior, Mr. Lawrence, went out of his way to deny Mr. Louw's suggestions that the staff of the Soviet Consulate-General in the Union was unduly large or that it had any connexion with Communist agitation. The total number of Soviet officials and their staff including typists, chauffeurs, cooks and other domestic servants in the Union was 21. " There is not a tittle of evidence," he said, " to show that the Russian consular representatives in South Africa have ever abused or attempted to abuse their position. If they were to do so, it is quite obvious that the Union Government would take cognisance of such a fact. There is no reason whatever to think that they would allow themselves to be used by interested persons who might wish to use them for subversive activities."

16. The misgiving of the Government's more conservative supporters on the question of Communist activity were curbed by political considerations and the debate ended with the rejection of Mr. Louw's motion by the usual Government majority. The Prime Minister himself had not taken part in it but in various debates since that time has expressed his attitude on this question. He takes the line that there is not the slightest reason to doubt the Russian Government's undertaking not to interfere in the internal affairs of its allies. In reply to the debate on his departmental vote he warned the Opposition in grave terms against their irresponsible attempt to whip up feeling against Russia for the sake of political propaganda. " Nothing can be more dangerous for the world now, when Russia is bearing the greatest burden of the war and is making the greatest contribution towards the victory of our cause, than a campaign against Russia and an attempt to show that Russia is the enemy . . . If we talk of Communists we must not talk of Russia. It is entirely wrong to

* No. 13.

link our Communists with Russia. There is a certain measure of Communism in South Africa, but there is not the least evidence that Russia is behind the local Communists. We have circumstances in this country which, if there were no Communism in Russia, would produce certain effects . . . We should not blame Russia and make her responsible for conditions when we ourselves are to blame."

17. Since the end of the debate on Communism some weeks ago the Opposition has steadily increased the intensity of its propaganda. In scores of leading articles in the Afrikaner Press and in speeches throughout the country and in Parliament the Opposition is doing its best to focus the attention of the electorate on the bogy it is so busily creating. The country is told in horrifying detail that the Communist Party, with the backing of Russia, is preparing the way for a " black revolution " in South Africa and that the Government, while fully aware, despite its protestations, of the danger, is inhibited from preventive action by the alliance with Russia. In this, as in so many other fields, the Opposition says, the Government is sacrificing the safety and interests of South Africa to the needs of the war. Mr. Pirow, in the House of Assembly, has thanked the Government for presenting to the Opposition groups, by its complaisant attitude towards Communist activity, a platform for united action; and he has since announced that the members of the New Order Group in Parliament will withdraw from the elections as a gesture to Afrikaner unity, and will throw all their forces into the " struggle against Smuts and Communism."

18. In a situation such as this it would have been perhaps too much to expect the Dutch Reformed Church to neglect the opportunity of advancing a political cause under the guise of concern for the spiritual and moral welfare of the nation. In the middle of March a deputation from the Church interviewed the Minister of Justice, with the object of impressing upon him the need for immediate action " to defend the principles of life which are sacred to the Afrikaner people." It demanded, among other measures, the proscription of the Communist Party, the deportation of all Communist agitators (presumably even those of Union nationality) and the maintenance of the Government's refusal to accord legal recognition to native trade unions which, they said, were under the leadership of Communists.

19. Pro-Government speakers and newspapers, for their part, have not been idle in exposing the Opposition's campaign as a more sophisticated version of the infamous " black manifesto " with which the Nationalist Party stampeded the country in the general election of 1929. They have also remarked on the not insignificant fact that little was heard from the Opposition groups on the communist menace during the association of Germany and Russia in the first year and a half of the war; and instructive parallels have been drawn between the speeches of Mr. Louw and the minatory pronouncements with which Dr. Goebbels is now doing his best to divide the Allies. *Die Volkstem*, the pro-Government Afrikaans organ in Pretoria, has been assiduous in its researches into the early pronouncements of Nationalist leaders on the problem of Russia; and has embarrassed Dr. Malan by the publication of excerpts from his speeches as long ago as 1919 when he and General Hertzog strongly criticized the Allied intervention in Russia. General Hertzog himself at that time went so far as to declare: " Why is it attempted to-day to kill Bolshevism? Because popular liberty means death to capitalism and imperialism. Do not let us become frightened of such Bolshevism. The idea itself is excellent."

20. In the foregoing paragraphs I have described the agitation which is being conducted by all the agencies of the Opposition groups, and the attempt of the Government to set this agitation within its proper perspective. It may be of interest to you at this stage to have an account of the impressions I myself have formed of the methods and extent of Communist activity in the Union. These impressions are based on conversations with Ministers and Government officials, on direct observation, on reports (mainly in the Opposition Press) of Communist meetings and on a confidential report prepared for the Minister of Justice by the Commissioner of the South African Police. A copy of this report has been given to me confidentially and is attached as an appendix to this despatch.

21. There is no doubt that the entry of Russia into the war brought with it a striking increase in Communist activity in the Union. The local Communist Party, during the uneasy association of Germany and Russia in the opening stages of the war, strictly adhered to the party " line " and the technique of " revolutionary defeatism." In so doing it sank to new depths of unpopularity. Never since the abortive and ill-fated establishment of the Johannesburg soviet during the general strike on the Witwatersrand in 1922 had it exercised less influence on the people of this country. The Left Book Club, which had extended its activities to the principal towns of the Union in the immediately pre-war years, disappeared almost overnight and the Friends of the Soviet Union declined into a discreet inactivity. The Communist intellectuals of Johannesburg and Cape Town were left to the dreary debate between Stalinism and Trotskyism and the spinning of ingenious formulæ to justify their opposition to the war. The sudden conversion of Russia into an ally of the Union brought an immediate change in their attitude. They began a vigorous campaign for the intensification of the Union's war effort and for the removal of those discriminations of race and colour which they alleged were a hindrance to the most effective prosecution of the war. They conducted an energetic propaganda for the arming of non-Europeans and the raising of a large native army; they demanded the abolition of the colour bar in industry and put forward proposals for fundamental reforms in social policy. They exploited to the utmost the sympathy with Russia which was evoked by magnificent resistance of the Russian army. The Friends of the Soviet Union sprang into a new life as the chief organ of pro-Russian propaganda; and meetings were held in all the large, and even in many of the smaller towns, to demonstrate support for Russia and to press the demand for the immediate Second Front.

22. Those who direct the activities of the Friends of the Soviet Union are members of the Communist Party; but they are careful not to offend by open insistence on Marxist doctrine the large numbers of non-Communists who attend their meetings and subscribe to their funds. The interests of Communist propaganda in the Union are served rather by the implied comparisons with social conditions in Russia than by direct attempts to obtain recruits to the Communist cause. In order to enlist the support of sentimental but timid members of the more prosperous groups an air

of social " respectability " is given to their meetings by the appearance on the platform of eminent clerics, such as the Coadjutor Bishop of Cape Town, or prominent business men, such as Mr. Henderson, M.P. The organization of funds for Russian relief gives many opportunities of emphasizing the enormous military services which Russia is rendering to the common cause and of appealing to the sympathies of people of varying ideological attitudes. The young Afrikaner women from the platteland who make up the larger part of the Garment Workers' Union have undergone a course of Communist indoctrination at the hands of their very active secretary, Mr. Solly Sachs—and have contributed many thousands of pounds to funds in aid of Russia; and at the other end of the social scale " first-nights " of film entertainments for the same cause are attended by Cabinet Ministers and the socially distinguished and large sums of money are raised.

23. The chairman of the Communist Party is Mr. W. H. Andrews, an old trades unionist who has never seemed much at home among his present associates. He has played an influential part in the labour movement and was narrowly defeated by Colonel Creswell just before the last war in the contest for leadership of the Labour Party. The secretary of the party is Moses Kotane, a South African native from the Eastern Cape, upon whom Opposition newspaper cartoonists have seized with avidity as the picturesque portent of black revolution. But the mere recital of a list of office-bearers would give no indication of where the real power in the Communist Party is situated. This lies with a group of intellectuals of whom the most influential is Dr. George Sacks, one of the leading surgeon-specialists of Cape Town, and his wife, Miss Betty Radford, a daughter of an English vicarage. It is they who founded the official Communist weekly newspaper, the *Guardian* and developed it as a most effective organ of Communist doctrine. It now has a weekly circulation of about 40,000, which thus exceeds the daily circulation of the great majority of South African newspapers. Dr. Sacks is noted for disinterestedness and sincerity of character and is respected by all sections of the community. There is irony but possibly not much relevancy in the fact that he is the favourite surgeon of leaders of big business in the Union, including heads of the gold mining industry. He is best described as a " rigid Marxist."

24. It is impossible on reading through any list of active Communists in the Union (and even one so inaccurate and undiscriminating as that compiled by the Commissioner of Police) not to be struck by the number of Jewish names which obtrude themselves. Except for two able young Afrikaner barristers in Johannesburg and a prominent non-Jewish barrister in Pretoria, it would not be rash to say that the leadership of the South African Communist Party is concentrated in the hands of Jews and the Jewish population of Johannesburg provides perhaps the largest single section of Communist sympathizers among the Europeans. The African native, coloured and Indian communities have produced their own active communists, of whom Mrs. Gool is perhaps the best known. Mrs. Gool is a Cape Town City Councillor and the daughter of the late Malay Dr. Abdurahman and his Scots wife. She is an influential and extremist left wing leader of the Cape Coloured people. In the Transvaal, in accordance with the policy of associating men of all races in the leadership the chairman of the party is Edwin Mofutsanyana, a Transvaal native who stood without success for election to the Natives' Representatives Council last November. But all these are subordinate to, and accept their inspiration and direction from, the group of Jewish intellectuals. Work " in the field " is also largely conducted by Jews. In the trades unions composed mainly of young women workers (the Garment Workers' Union mentioned above is an example) they wield considerable influence; and under their guidance has emerged the new phenomenon of Afrikaner women " agitators," bearing such names as du Toit, Fourie and du Preez.

25. In considering the influence of Communists in the trade union movement it is important to emphasize that so far it has hardly penetrated at all into the large and powerful organizations of skilled workers such as the Mineworkers' Union. It is in the unions of unskilled women workers that Communist organizers like the redoubtable Mr. Solly Sachs have the most scope. The most fertile field of communist activity is in the non-European trade unions, whose members, the African, coloured and Indian unskilled workers, are clearly susceptible to the suggestions of " agitators " who are skilled in crystallizing particular grievances out of a vague and formless discontent. The extent of Communist influence in the non-European unions is obviously a question of prime importance and one that is at the very core of the present agitation against the Communist " menace " in South Africa. Unfortunately it is also a matter about which it is most difficult to form a just estimate. As will be seen, the Commissioner of Police attaches much importance to the Communist tactics of " infiltration " into the trade unions and the occupation of key positions within them. His report, however, is in general lacking in objectivity, and, in parts inaccurate. I should not feel disposed to accept it without considerable reserve. The Prime Minister has ascribed the delay in bringing the native trade unions within the scope of the industrial conciliation machinery to the fear that they may be a potent instrument in the hands of the Communist " agitator "; but this fear is considered by Mrs. Ballinger, M.P. who herself has no sympathy with the Communist Party, to be much exaggerated. Certainly, it could very well be a useful excuse at the disposal of those reactionary forces who on first principles are opposed to combinations of workers. All that I believe can safely be said on this question of Communist influence in the native unions is that Communists are certainly active in some of them and that in others, while the officials themselves are not Communist sympathizers or members of the Communist Party, their members are subject to Communist influence from outside. The Opposition maintains that the recent wave of native strikes was provoked by Communist agitation and they have received some support from Mr. Findlay, the leader of the party in Pretoria who, in evidence before the Commission of Enquiry, stated that a certain Communist had performed an important function in " canalizing " the grievances of the workers in the municipal compound.

26. At the same time it is worth remarking that the Communist Party as such has strongly set its face against the fomentation of strikes which embarrass the Government in the conduct of the war. During the native strikes on the Rand in December, the Party issued a manifesto deploring ill-considered strikes and Mr. Harmel, the secretary of its Johannesburg branch, addressing meetings of strikers, strongly appealed to workers to go back to their jobs. I have heard that the man to whom Mr. Findlay referred was acting as an enthusiastic " free-lance " without the approval

of the Party authorities; but there are cynics who are no more impressed by this repudiation of an agent than they are by the public aloofness of the Soviet Government from the Comintern.

27. The " penetration " of native trade unions is admittedly an important element of Communist policy; and agitation can be expected to thrive on legitimate native grievances. I should, however, be surprised if Communist doctrines as such found much favour among native workers. As for the doctrinaire pronouncements of the Comintern on the desirability of a " peasants' revolution," nothing could be further from present possibilities or tendencies in the native reserves. If Communist doctrines are to receive much currency among the non-Europeans of South Africa, it is certain that they will find a readier acceptance among the more sophisticated communities of the Cape Coloured and the Indians than among the vast mass of the indigenous native population. Until quite recently these communities were encouraged to look for salvation as integral parts of the European population; but in the last fifteen years they have been the victims of a reaction which is forcing them into the position of outcasts and is steadily depriving them of hope of economic, social or political advancement. In conditions such as these the Communist doctrines of race and social equality are bound to flourish. Families of coloured men now in the army have been placed by remarkably generous allowances on a standard of living which they have hitherto not known. When after the war State bounty ceases and these people, as seems bound to happen, are pushed back into the grievous conditions in which the majority of the coloured people are forced to live, the stage will be set for very serious trouble. The Communists in these circumstances may very well be expected to entrench themselves in the leadership of the forces of discontent. In Natal, the class of small Indian traders has never been susceptible to Communist doctrines; but the same cannot be said of the growing class of Indian factory workers. It is known that in firms like Dunlops' at Durban and in the sugar mills the Indian workers are coming under the leadership of Communist organizers and the influence of Communist ideas. The chairman of the Communist Party in Natal is an Indian called Naidoo, who is also secretary of the Natal Sugar Industry Employees' Union.

28. The Communist Party's activity among the European population is now directed mainly at the soldiers. Soon after the beginning of the war it took the initiative in founding the Springbok Legion to protect the soldiers' interests, and its membership in the armed forces soon rose to 25,000. The military discipline code, however, prohibits serving soldiers from participating actively in any non-military organization. It was decided therefore to make membership effective only after demobilization. The difficulty of organization in the meantime, however, was surmounted by the establishment of a parallel body known as the Home Front League of the Springbok Legion, whose membership is confined to civilians and whose function is to lead the agitation for higher pay for soldiers. On the return to the Union of the First South African Division in January the Home Front League issued a manifesto addressed to the soldiers which read, in part, as follows:—

> " To-day we, the Springboks, must organize.
> To-day we must make our alliance with the working front—the front that has stood by us, the front of our own folks.
> To-day we must understand the need for this unity and understand the forces of darkness we are fighting."

Meetings were held in the Oribi dispersal camp at Maritzburg and at Johannesburg at which demands were put forward for increased pay, improvements in the system of promotion and other reforms. Some speakers went so far as to demand the election of officers by soldiers' committees. At a meeting held in the Durban City Hall at the end of March under the auspices of the Springbok Legion a civilian speaker said that ex-soldiers of to-day were not going to put up with the conditions which confronted their fathers. " They do not want to go into open rebellion but they insist on getting their rights and protection for their dependants. Mutiny is no new thing but can only arise when a popular movement is driven underground. However," he added, " we cannot deprecate any such suggestion too deeply. Now is the time for you to voice your demands for conditions fit for ex-soldiers to live in." A Communist speaker announced that the membership of the Legion had now grown to 30,000. A private member of the First Division declared that the late General Dan Pienaar had consented to the formation of the Legion, saying that " if it meant tearing down every building in the country he would not see one of his boys walking the streets without a job after the war." At this and other meetings doubts were expressed about the sincerity of the Government's attitude towards post-war reconstruction.

29. Speakers on behalf of the Springbok Legion have denied that it is " Communistic " and the Prime Minister himself in the House of Assembly made a similar suggestion. His information, he said, was that this organization had not yet fallen under Communist influence but he knew that certain elements were trying to influence it and he was keeping his eyes wide open. So far he had not seen fit to condemn the organization and take action. This, I cannot help feeling, was hardly more than a diplomatic denial. The fact is that the chairman of the Springbok Legion is one of the best known intellectual communists in the country, Mr. Glyn Thomas, the Registrar of the Witwatersrand University, and that Communists hold every key position in the organization and are in command of its policy. On the other hand the legion is supported by such " liberals " as Sir George Albu and Mr. Norbert Ellis of Johannesburg, whose anxiety to improve social conditions for the ex-soldiers leads them to sympathize with its aims. As an organization of ex-soldiers committed to pressing for far-reaching social changes it is bound to be an important factor in the post-war politics of the Union.

30. One group, however, of the Communists remains bitterly opposed to participation in the war effort—the Trotsky Section. The latter are not without influence among the old group of Communists in Cape Town, and are said to have been obtaining for some years fairly large sums of money from America. They are nowadays not easily distinguished from the old anarchists and have drawn into their fold many potential Communists who are impatient of all restraint and disinclined therefore to submit to the rigid discipline of the Russian Communist party. They suffer from no inhibitions in the matter of fomenting strikes or even indulging in sabotage. Indeed, such danger of sabotage as exists in the Union at the present time, except from the pro-Nazi " Ossewa Brandwag," arises from the doctrines and activities of this small section of convinced fanatics.

31. An opportunity of gauging the extent of the Communist Party's political influence will be afforded by the general election which is due to be held in a few months' time. The Party has announced its intention so far of putting up nine candidates in working class constituencies in the Cape Peninsula and on the Witwatersrand.

32. I should not end this despatch without expressing an opinion on the suggestions of propagandist activity that have been levelled at the Soviet Consular representatives in this country and denied by the Government. It is only fair to say that neither I nor any member of my staff has come across any evidence to show that the Soviet-Consulate-General is exerting itself to influence the activities of the local Communist Party, or that its behaviour has been anything but correct in every way. It is true that the Consul-General's eagerness to establish a regular air courier service between Pretoria and Kuibyshev must inevitably arouse the suspicion that he is concerned with arrangements for the carriage of propagandist material. This, of course, is not impossible, but it would be rash to jump to a conclusion about a matter which may very well be explained by the inveterately distrustful attitude of Soviet representatives abroad.

33. In this despatch I have traced the factitious agitation now being conducted by the Opposition against the " Communist menace," and shown how the supporters of the Government are inhibited by the needs of the war situation from giving way to the fears which the great majority of white South Africans inevitably feel when confronted with any threat, however remote, to the stability of long existing race relationships in this country. It is clear that the Communist doctrine can find only a very insecure foothold among a white population the majority of whom are intensely conscious of its overriding community of interest as against non-European peoples. Communist activity must inevitably find its most fertile field in South Africa among those racial groups which are excluded by rigid process of differentiation from the full benefits of citizenship. But even here Communist activity does not appear to be succeeding on a scale which would justify any considerable disquiet. Of the large native population only a comparatively small section is exposed, by virtue of life in the cities to the influence of Communist ideas; and the excellent recruiting figures of the coloured people of the Cape do not suggest that the majority have as yet turned to revolutionary doctrines for the remedy of their discontents. Such is an estimate of the situation as it exists at this moment. The rise of Russian power and the egalitarian principles of the Communist ideology, however, are factors to be reckoned with in their influence on the internal affairs of South Africa; and much will depend on the balance of forces which shape the face of the post-war world.

34. I am sending copies of this despatch to the High Commissioners for the United Kingdom in Ottawa, Canberra and Wellington.

I have, &c.,

HARLECH,

High Commissioner.

APPENDIX.

Report from Commissioner, South African Police, to the Minister of Justice.
Dated Headquarters, Cape Town, 26th January, 1943.

RE: COMMUNISM IN THE UNION.

In view of the recent labour troubles—riots, strikes, etc., and the apprehension in the minds of employers of labour of more trouble still to come, a fear which I must confess is shared by me, I submit the following memorandum for your information and consideration. I would here add that the Right Honourable the Prime Minister instructed that I do so, when advising me as to action to be taken in the recent threatened strike of Victoria Falls Power native workers in Johannesburg and other centres.

It will be of interest to note that the Communist Party in South Africa operates on the direct instructions of the Comintern in Soviet Russia, and hereunder I quote one of its standing instructions:

> " The Congress notes a growth of Communist influence in South Africa. The Congress impose the obligation upon all Communists there to take up as their central tasks the organization of the toiling Negro masses, the strengthening of Negro trade unions and the fight against " white " chauvinism. The fight against foreign Imperialism in all its forms; the advocacy of complete and absolute equality for Negroes; strenuous struggle against all exceptional laws against Negroes; determined support for the fight against driving the peasants from the land; the organization of peasants for the struggle for the agrarian revolution while at the same time strengthening the Communist groups and parties—such must be the fundamental tasks of the Communists in South Africa."

In a report on the international industrial situation, the Communist, Wm. Z. Foster, writes; " *The Party and the Unions.* The strengthening and unification of the trade unions for the class struggle and the conquest of those organizations for the programme of Communism are of the utmost importance to our Party. Without attaining the leadership of the masses organized in the trade unions, it will be impossible for us to function effectively as the vanguard of the proletariat. Time and again the Communist International has emphasized the supreme necessity of Communists working amongst the masses organized industrially. In every unit of our Party the question of work in the trade unions must be recognized as one of the greatest importance, and all available strength must be thrown into it."

The following are the chief points in the policy of the Communist Party for the carrying out in South Africa of industrial organizations:—

(1) Industrial organizers—Each unit of the Party shall select an industrial organizer whose duty it shall be to see to it that the industrial programme of the party is put into effect in so far as his unit is concerned.

(2) To combine in the trade unions with an effective policy of strikes in shops, mines and factories.

(3) To work out plans for the daily struggle of the workers to be joined with our present amalgamation campaign.

In order to carry out the above policy, the Communists have adopted new tactics which are very successful. Instead of conducting labour organizations independently as they formerly did, the Party has found it much more effective to penetrate into legitimate trade unions and to seize strategic positions and offices therein. Under the new policy the Communists form units or factions within such unions, especially in the heavy; clothing; and other industries. These units work in complete unison and harmony under instructions. Their numbers are well trained in organizing work and in addition they are actuated by strong Party zeal.

The position to-day is that leading Communists hold key positions in the majority of the European and Native trade unions in the Witwatersrand, Pretoria, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, East London, Durban and Pietermaritzburg. During the past two years the Party has been successful in organizing Native trade unions on the Rand, Pretoria, Durban, Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, East London and other centres, and there are at present at least 40 of these unions controlled by the Communists in the centres mentioned.

Propaganda amongst Natives.—The propaganda efforts of the Communists have for some considerable time been directed principally towards the Coloured and Native sections of the various industries. In order to obtain sufficient numbers of agitators, several night schools were established in the suburbs of Johannesburg during 1937, where natives and coloureds were lectured by experienced agitators in the doctrines of Marxism and taught the art of public speaking and how to organize trade unions. These students would thereafter, accompanied by a European Communist, address meetings in the various Native townships and locations on the Reef and other cities and towns in the Union, and have become fluent in speech and successful in putting over propaganda. Such meetings are well advertised in good time by means of pamphlets printed in the European and native languages freely distributed in the area where it is proposed to hold the meeting. The keynote of the speakers generally is to exhort the natives to unite, in which event they can dictate to established authority in their own way. The natives are invariably reminded that they are working under bad conditions, required to work long hours and are not sufficiently paid for the work performed. The only way to remedy this is to join the trade unions and agitate for higher wages and better working conditions, and that increased wages have been won during the past few months through their efforts; that it was the leaders of the trade unions who saw the "bosses" of the employees in the milk trade, the municipality, the brick and many other trades and put forward the demands on behalf of the workers which were agreed to and accepted as the "bosses" had no option but to agree to such demands, and so on in a like strain. At these meetings the natives are also told that the unions will demand the total abolition of pass laws, colour bar, police raids, pick-up vans, the permit system in locations, cessation of profiteering, equal rights and equal pay for all and better living conditions, this being so appreciated—there is no lack of recruits for the Party.

Communist Attitude towards the Present War.—At the commencement of the war in 1939, the Communist Party was bitterly opposed to the war, described it as a capitalist war and saying it should not have the support of any decent worker. The war is the responsibility of the criminal Imperialist rulers. It is up to the workers to put an end to the war by getting rid of the Imperialists."

In this connexion a number of cases were investigated where Communists had made subversive statements in contravention of the Emergency Regulations and submitted to Attorney-Generals for decision. The nature of the speeches complained of was calculated to jeopardize the Government in its war effort. The language used was inflammatory in the highest degree, and intended to incite the Natives to resist law and order. The Government and lawful authority were generally called robbers, killers, prosecutors of natives; with the intention of engendering a feeling of hostility against lawful authority. On Russia's entry into the war the charges against these persons were not proceeded with as it was considered that the change in the international situation would materially alter their view-point, but this was not the case. Their support of the war is only a secondary consideration judging by recent speeches and distributed pamphlets, and is conditional to the following demands:—

(*a*) Arming of all native soldiers, with equal status in rank and pay.

(*b*) Equal rights for all, black and white alike.

(*c*) Abolition of so-called oppressive measures such as pass laws, poll tax, segregation, colour bar, police raids, pick-up vans, etc.

Ill-timed and ill-considered agitation for a Second Front has also been a feature of their propaganda.

At a Communist meeting at the City Hall, Johannesburg, on 4th August 1942, attended by about 2,000 people, Advocate George Findlay, a well-known Communist of Pretoria, spoke on the creation of a Second Front in Europe, stating that the reason the Second Front has not been started is because politicians and military chiefs of the Allied Governments have vested interests in Europe. He accused financiers of wanting a long war on account of profits; and again demanded rifles for natives. He described General Smuts' campaign for 7,000 recruits to avenge Tobruk as a farce, and accused General Smuts "of using his own little bit of Hitlerism" in that connexion.

One pamphlet published by the Communist Party depicted a Native soldier in uniform with a stick in his hand, bearing the caption "Give him a gun now." Another pamphlet bore the caption "Give us guns—away with passes." On a third slogan was "Defend our country. We must be ready to fight for the defence of our country, for our lives, our people and our homes.

The Government must act. Give arms to the African Soldiers. Train them to fight. The fight for freedom needs a free, united people. Pass laws and police raids must stop. There must be more hospitals, school houses for non-Europeans," and so, on the pretext of supporting Russia and the democracies in their war effort, the Party is exploiting to the full the general war position, taking every advantage of the general public admiration of the great military effort and success of the Soviet Forces to plant new seed in receptive ground for the support of its demands for higher wages for native and coloured labourers in mines, industries and other vital services in the Union.

The Army and soldiers returning from active service are not being overlooked in the expansion of the Party. This is clearly evidenced by the recent formation of the "Springbok Legion for Soldiers," which, under the guise of a Comrades' Association, is clearly Communist.

The principal speakers are not the members of the Party and many N.C.O.s and men of the Army are rapidly becoming disciples. George Heard is a particularly strong supporter of this body.

General Unrest.—There is considerable unrest at the present time amongst natives and coloured workers on the Witwatersrand and other industrial centres, such as Pretoria, Vereeniging, Durban, East London, Port Elizabeth and Cape Town, which is directly attributable to the propaganda of the Communist Party and speeches by members in addressing meetings calculated to incite otherwise passive individuals into active opposition, conscious or unconscious and resistance to the smooth working of the Government's war effort. The danger of Communist influence on the natives on the Witwatersrand, with a population of 305,200 on the mines and about 200,000 in other industries, also a large native population employed in the industries in Durban, Port Elizabeth, East London, Cape Town, Pretoria and other centres cannot be over-estimated. Hardly a week goes by without the Native Affairs, Labour and Police Departments being called upon to settle some industrial dispute.

Strikes.—Although the position has so far been satisfactorily controlled, there is every possibility that, unless the activities of the Communists be curbed or placed under some measure of control, it will deteriorate and result in general strikes. This opinion is based on the fact that during the past two years the Communists have been almost directly responsible for organizing or supporting strikes in the undermentioned mines and industries, while intercepted conversations and letters show a determination to continue doing so:—

Johannesburg.

Langlaate Mine;
Robinson Deep;
E.R.P.M.;
Versepuit Bros. General Merchants;
The Milk Trade;
The Brick and Tile Trade;
The "sweet" factories.

Durban.

Natal Sugar Estates;
Morton's Canning Factory;
Five Roses Tea Factory;
Joko Tea and Coffee Factory;
Brock & Co., Stevedoring Company;
S.A. Paper and Pulp Factory;
Bakers, Ltd.
Durban Cigar and Tobacco Manufacturing Company;
Dunlops, Ltd.;
Natal Cotton and Woollen Mills;
Chinese Laundry, Broad Street.

Cape Town.

Oaksole Shoe Repair Co. (Pty) Ltd. Salt River;
Royal Dairy;
H. Jones & Co., Zuider Paarl.

Port Elizabeth.

Clothing Factories of Teikamdas Bros.;
Messrs. Steel Drill and Mosenthals;
Liquor and Catering Union (all Port Elizabeth hotels affected—waiters called out on strike).

Transvaal—excluding Witwatersrand.

Pretoria Municipal Natives;
Victoria Falls Power Station, Vereeniging.

I attach a schedule showing the names of the principal European, Indian and Coloured and Native Communists, who have, of late, been particularly active in creating discontent.

COMMISSIONER OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLICE.

COMMUNISTS AND COMMUNIST AGITATORS.

JOHANNESBURG.

European.

M. Harmel. Secretary of Communist Party. Clever propagandist and dangerous agitator. Responsible for all publications issued by Communist Party.
Sorry Bernstein. Agitator.
J. Brigish. Agitator.
J. Lewitton. Agitator.
Hilda Watts. Agitator.
Betty du Toit. Agitator.
Sarah Rubin. Agitator.
K. Malt. Agitator.
I. Wolfson. Agitator. (Addresses meetings in front of City Hall steps, Johannesburg, on Sunday evenings.)
E. Weinberg. (Addresses meetings in front of City Hall steps, Johannesburg, on Sunday evenings.)
I. Kessler. (Addresses meetings in front of City Hall steps, Johannesburg, on Sunday evenings.)
E. S. Sachs. (Addresses meetings in front of City Hall steps, Johannesburg, on Sunday evenings.)

Coloured or Native.

Edwin Mofutsanyana. Chairman of Communist Party.
Gaur Radebe.
Alpheus Maleba.
D. Kosane.
Armstrong Msit Jane.
S. Nickin. (Cape Coloured.)
Brown Moyo
Joseph J. Marks.
Edward Mkoena.
Simon Ndalbula.
S. M. Moema.
Johannes Matso.
Ben Mnisi.
Cromwell Dhladhla.
Josephone Mpama O Palmer.
Dr. Y. Dadoo. (Indian.)
Moses Kotane.
Michael Liphoko.
Gertrude Khabashane.
Stephen Hlohlomo.
W. Thebedi.
Hendrik Molefi.
Samule Briti.
S. Sally. (Indian.)

CAPE TOWN.

European.

Miss Ray Alexander. Secretary Food and Canning Workers' Union.
Roy du Prees.
Miss Joey Fourie.
Mr. Attorney Kahn.
Mrs. Gool.
Dr. G. Sacks.
Johanna Cornelius.
Dr. H. Sandon.
Adv. H. Snitcher.
J. W. Emmerich.
Aristides Dimitratos (Greek.)
F. G. Rees.
W. H. Andres.
Dr. F. H. Gow.
Mr. Rex Close.

Coloured or Native.

H. M. Kotane.
I. Baboo.
A. Ishmail.
H. A. Naidoo.

PORT ELIZABETH.

European.

Arnold Latti. (Lithuanian National—interned on 17.9.42.)
Edgar Cale. (German—interned 22.5.42.)
Katie Viljoen. (Secretary—Garment Workers' Union.)
S. S. Kruger. (Secretary of the E.P. Trades Council of members of the Liquor and Catering Union.)

Coloured or Native.

H. M. Desai. (Hon. Sec. " Non-European United Front ". Indian.)
P. St. Clair Marks. (Coloured.)
P. J. Sandla.

EAST LONDON.

European.

Archibald Oscar Muller. (Chairman—Communist Party.)
Miss Rose Behr.

KIMBERLEY.

Non-European.

Ley Changfoot. (Chairman—Kimberley Communist Organization.)

DURBAN.

European.

Miss Pauline Polbrey.
Mannie Peltz.
Rowley Israel Arenstein.
Alex Wanless M.P.C.
Errol Shanley.
Harry Bloom.
Vera Poonon.
Jacqueline Lax.
H. Rubin.
Athol Thorne.
Robertson.
Goldie.

Coloured or Native.

H. A. Naidoo (Chairman).
Gladman Nxumalo.
G. Poonen.
Wilson Tsele.
Ebraham Ismail Moolla (Indian).
Nzama Pungulu O Zulu.
Punian Moonsamy Harry (Indian).
Percy (Indian).
Ramcharan.
Grenford (Native).

PRETORIA.

European.

Adv. George Findlay.
Adv. F. J. C. Truter-Boschoff.
Adv. H. A. Jensen.
M. M. Behrmann.
Frank Fouche.
George Krump.
William Arbuthnot.
Alf Robertson.
Percy Talford.
Mrs. N. Engela.
Makoe (Chairman or Secretary Workers' Unions).
James Mkole.
Johannes Magukula.
Solly Makua.
Adolf Makula.
Jackson M'Kula.
James Mokwena.
Percy Pala.
Daniel Noholetsi.
Thomas Malotani.
Willie Mponga.
Mary Mponga.

O. 581/18.

No. 7.

DESPATCH

from

HIGH COMMISSIONER IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA FOR HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

(Received 25th June, 1943.)

(South Africa.)

(No. 191, Confidential.)

Pretoria, 4th June, 1943.

SIR,

I have the honour to report that the final session of the eighth Parliament of the Union ended on the 27th April; and that preparations are now well advanced for the general election which is to take place on the 7th July. The Governor-General's proclamation dissolving Parliament will have been issued by the end of May or early in June and official nominations will be made on the 14th June. In telegrams sent at frequent intervals during the session I reported the main developments of interest to His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom. In this despatch it is my aim to present a rather more coherent picture of political events and tendencies than is possible in a series of telegrams.

2. The session opened on the 16th January in the atmosphere of mistrust and irritation which commonly surrounds a dying Parliament. The victory at El Alamein and the Allied landing in North Africa had marked a turning point in the war, and the inauguration of the Allied offensive on land. Government supporters for two and a half years had been on the defensive against the gibes and sometimes pro-German tendencies of the Opposition groups. In that long period, a series of set-backs to the Allied cause had imposed well-understood restraints on pro-war critics of the Government. More recently, however, while the Opposition was rent by ideological confusion and the ambitions of rival leaders, the Allies had set their feet on the long road to victory; and Government supporters, released at last from inhibitions imposed by adversity, could savour the satisfaction of indulging their own grievances against the executive, and even their private feuds within the Government coalition.

3. The opening of Parliament was the signal for a remarkably outspoken discussion in the pro-Government Press of the place which Parliament now occupies in the national life, of the deficiencies of members and the faults of the present Government. The *Natal Mercury*, for example, expressed the hope that members " would not forget that they are not elected and paid £700 a year merely for the purpose of dutifully voting as the Party whips direct." There was a time, not so long ago, it continued, " when the majority commanded by General Smuts was so delicately poised that normal criticism by his supporters had necessarily to be dropped. Those days are past. General Smuts's Government is now firmly established, and the Opposition is at such sixes and sevens that constructive criticism of certain aspects of the Government's activities can do nothing but good. Tame acquiesence in the view of some members of the Cabinet that Government Departments can do no wrong is thoroughly unhealthy and reduces Parliament to a state which does much to justify the cry that it is nothing but a nuisance and a waste of time." The same paper a few days later accused the Government of being " an inveterate breeder of bureaucratic bodies " which were doing much to undermine the authority of Parliament. The *East London Despatch* declared that " there is much criticism of the Government in the country, even among General Smuts's most loyal supporters, but when constituents pass on their grievances to their members of Parliament the latter find it impossible to pass them on to the Government."

4. The *Natal Witness* complained of the " benevolent dictatorial attitude of the present Ministerial executive " and suggested that the Prime Minister " had usurped powers far beyond the limits needful for the efficient running of the war machine. In other words," it said, " he has far outstripped Mr. Churchill, who has always insisted that he is the servant of Parliament, in gathering the reins of power into his hands." The weekly *Forum* which, oddly enough, is closely connected with Mr. Hofmeyr, the most bureaucratic of Ministers, declared that " Parliament provides the Government but cannot be said to exert very much influence either in the direction of inspiring State policy or as a check on Government action." In the early weeks of the session Mr. Burnside of the Labour Party, one of the ablest and most independent of the younger members, expressed the general sense of frustration among Government supporters in the House of Assembly when he complained that the Government, in its appointment of boards and committees to deal with problems of reconstruction, consistently ignored the claims of Members of Parliament. Parliament, he said, was fast developing into the status of a rubber stamp. "We are being consistently lowered in our status and becoming more and more nonentities. Apart from venturing now and again into a debate we have no real say in the Government of the country."

5. These are significant complaints and not to be dismissed as merely the reflection of trends inherent in the wartime growth of executive power. Government back-benchers in recent sessions have, it is true, been deprived of their fair share of time in debate by the determination of the Government to keep the sessions short; but complaints go deeper than that. In South Africa, as in so many other countries governed by Parliamentary constitutions, the emergence of great national leaders has tended to shift the balance of forces in the State. Even before the war the prestige and authority of Parliaments and of Congress were declining in the face of the growing power of Prime Ministers and Presidents. This process has inevitably been stimulated by the necessities of war. To-day in the Union, the figure of the Prime Minister dominates the whole political scene to the exclusion of any rival. On the Government side his authority is unchallengeable. In his shade other trees appear stunted and puny growths. Members of the Cabinet seem to have no independent existence; it is from him that they derive their authority and it is in his will that their actions find support. General Smuts as Prime Minister is not merely the first among equals. With the great increase in his personal authority and power there has ensued a corresponding decline in the doctrine of collective responsibility: when Mr. Hofmeyr actively opposed the Government measure to control the penetration of Indians into European areas in Durban he made only a formal gesture of resignation. It was clear that the opposition of even a leading member of the administration to a Government measure was of such minor significance that he was permitted to remain in the Cabinet despite his disagreement with its considered policy.

6. Individual members of the Cabinet have declined in power *vis-à-vis* the Prime Minister, but the Cabinet as a whole has increased its authority and functions as against the general body of Parliament. It is the realization of this tendency that provoked such a sense of frustration among many pro-Government supporters in the House of Assembly during the recent session that at one stage more than a handful of the abler back-benchers on the Government side were openly declaring their intention not to stand for Parliament in the coming elections. The remark quoted above from Mr. Burnside's speech found an echo in many corners of the House. There is a general feeling that the private member has a negligible share in the formulation of policy. His interventions in debate are frowned upon as holding up the rapid progress of the business of the House and severely discouraged by the Whips; even in the United Party caucus, discussions were perfunctory and unreal and attempts to deal with broad matters of future policy were received with some impatience by General Smuts. Outside the House, and remote from its control, the ordinary member watched the multiplication of commissions and controllers, all thriving under the aegis of executive power. A vast structure of bureaucratic control had spread itself over almost every area of the national life. Much of its activities had given rise to widespread criticism. Members of Parliament, bombarded

with complaints by constituents, found themselves powerless to intervene; yet inevitably they attracted to themselves a share of the unpopularity for policies which they were unable to influence and over which they had no control.

7. On the Opposition side this feeling of frustration was not so widespread. Here, Members could not be blamed for unpopular policies or the faults of administration; they were not subject to the same restrictions on speech as their colleagues of the Government side and they could enjoy the excitements of irresponsible opposition. Moreover, it was part of the Nationalist Party's policy to exalt the functions of Parliament and to stress its own importance as the political front of Afrikanerdom, as against its rivals of the Ossewa Brandwag and the New Order who were busy decrying the value of Parliamentary institutions: much had happened since the uncertain days of two years before when the Nationalist Party appeared to be forsaking the paths of Parliamentary democracy in deference to an apparently triumphant totalitarian Germany.

8. Although the Prime Minister waited until the middle of the session before confirming the general expectation that a general election would take place this year as prescribed by the Constitution, the thoughts of all parties were clearly dominated throughout by the coming ordeal by ballot. Thus, on the Government side, there were strains in the coalition as the two minor partners, the Labour and the Dominion Parties, entered into a bitter rivalry between themselves and sought to strengthen their bargaining position as against the United Party. The Labour Party's confidence that it would be able to administer the final blow to the declining fortunes of Colonel Stallard's followers and its determination to invade the Dominion Party's constituencies in Natal had from the outset removed any probability of an election arrangement between these junior partners in the Government coalition. It was this conflict that introduced political complications into the problem caused by the accelerated purchase of European properties in Durban by Indian investors. Had the elections still been a distant prospect the problem might well have yielded to compromise and administrative action; as it was, the Dominion Party recklessly exploited the European agitation in Durban for drastic remedies as a means of bolstering up its declining political fortunes. In the process it imported a new bitterness into the dispute and sought to blackmail the Government into legislative discrimination against the Indian population. It was clear that with the Dominion Party, despite all its past demonstrations of loyalty to the British Commonwealth, considerations of Imperial unity counted as nothing against the temptations of opportunist electioneering in Natal. An incisive speech by Mr. Burnside effectively exposed this contrast between profession and practice in the present policy of Colonel Stallard and his friends. The House of Assembly witnessed the significant spectacle of the Dominion Party and the Nationalists in cordial co-operation trying by amendments to extent the restrictive provisions of the Bill: the circle was complete and the two extremes could meet on the common ground of racial prejudice.

9. The Labour group, for its part, made a demonstration of its Socialist principles in a debate which was specially introduced for this purpose; but Mr. Madeley, acutely conscious as he was of the advantage which the Labour Party would gain from entering the elections with the support of General Smuts's great prestige, succeeded in defeating the pressure of the left-wing section of his party for withdrawal from the Coalition. General Smuts has since arranged an electoral agreement with the Labour Party on the basis of granting to it the United Party's support in five constituencies additional to the four already held by Labour; and he has maintained the alliance for the Dominion Party by a " stand-still " agreement as far as the United Party are concerned.

10. The Government's principal concession to election necessities, apart from the introduction and translation into law of the Bill dealing with Indian penetration, was the decision to remove the principal source of soldiers' discontent by raising the pay and allowances of the lower ranks at a total additional cost of £5½ millions a year. Some indication of the effect of the improvement in scales is to be gained from the fact that a married private soldier with two children will now receive £27 a month as against £18 5*s*. 0*d*. under the old scales. This is a considerable increase and it is significant that since it was announced the soldiers' grievances which attracted so much attention on the return of the First Division to the Union some months ago appear to have largely evaporated. These increases were generally welcomed, even by the Nationalist Party, which is eager to conciliate the soldiers' vote. But among the more far-sighted members of the United Party there was some criticism of the Government's failure to mitigate the inflationary effects of the new scales by " freezing " some part at least of the increases in the form of compulsory savings. Mrs. Ballinger and the other natives' representatives, for their part, bitterly complained about the Government's decision to raise the pay of the Native Military Corps by no more than threepence a day. They drew an uncomfortable contrast between the £2 15*s*. a month which is now paid to the dependants of native soldiers and the £7 10*s*., which the Smit Committee have declared to be the minimum income necessary for a native family in the towns. The Prime Minister, replying to a vigorous speech by Mrs. Ballinger on this subject, justified the failure to make a larger increase in the case of the Native Military Corps by emphasizing that the original pay had been based on the wages paid by the gold mines and that, in any case, 80 per cent. of the men in this branch of the army came from the rural areas, where the allowance was alleged to be adequate.

11. In the first weeks of the session the Prime Minister piloted through both Houses his resolution removing the restriction on the employment of South African troops beyond the shores of the African continent. This restriction was part of the resolution accepted by Parliament at the instance of General Smuts at the outbreak of war. The Opposition took the line that the undertaking in that resolution not to send South African forces " overseas, as in the last war," was in effect the basis of a contract which the Prime Minister had made with Parliament and that it had been instrumental in winning the support of many members who otherwise would have voted against South Africa's entry into war. They complained that in the case of the Madagascar expedition at least the Prime Minister had acted in violation of this undertaking. The Prime Minister, in reply, argued that this resolution was the responsibility of Parliament, and that, although it had been accepted on his initiative, it did not tie him personally and irrevocably to the policy of " limited belligerency." General Smuts would have been more effective in his defence had he relied frankly on the indisputable contention that circumstances had changed in the intervening period in a way which none

could have foreseen; and that the policy which he now asked Parliament to accept was merely the logical continuation of a policy which had developed to meet new needs as they had appeared during the past three years.

12. An important feature of the session was the continued, and indeed accelerated, decline in the political fortunes and Parliamentary reputation of Mr. Hofmeyr. He had produced a Budget which maintained the Union's financial sacrifices for the war at a level much lower than those of any of the other active participants; but by the complexity of his taxation measures and his unwillingness to remove their numerous well known anomalies he had aroused the outspoken antagonism of large sections of commerce and industry. His reply to the Budget debate was merely a display of academic virtuosity: its very brilliance and self-complacency provoked the resentment of a House of Assembly which objected to being lectured like the dunces of the Lower Fifth. Mr. Hofmeyr continues a lonely and unsympathetic figure, contemptuous of the amenities of friendly intercourse and altogether lacking a personal following. Outside the House, he was conscious of mounting unpopularity in the country and the Press. In the depths of the platteland he was still known as a " kafferboetie " (the epithet applied to anyone of even the most mildly liberal attitude towards the natives, but in university and other circles where he had first gained support as the advocate of a more enlightened policy it was generally admitted that he had in fact abdicated the leadership of liberal opinion. Certainly in his Budget he had shown little appreciation of the function which taxation is made to perform in advanced states of mitigating the extremes of poverty and of wealth; still less had he made any adequate financial contribution to the war effort of the United Nations. In his provision for social welfare and for specifically native services he had made, in more than three years at the Treasury (admittedly years of war), only a negligible advance. Only in the Capitalist ranks of the mining circles of the Witwatersrand did he still preserve some remnants of popularity: the leaders of the mining industry were grateful for his action at the outbreak of war in substituting the " Special Contribution " (which everyone connected with the gold mining industry ostentatiously assumes is limited to the war period) for the more dangerous tax of Mr. Havenga (which appropriated all the increment in the gold price beyond the fixed margin). But even they had not altogether lost their long-standing liking for Mr. Havenga who might, they considered, still be able to bring a useful body of Afrikaner support into a reconstructed United Party after the war.

13. The " Laingsburg incident " halfway through the session proved a disastrous test of Mr. Hofmeyr's capacity for leadership in a moment of Parliamentary crisis. A body of Cape Coloured soldiers returning to Pretoria from leave in Cape Town had got out of control and done damage at stations through which they passed by train. At the small Karroo town of Laingsburg their wild career was finally checked by a group of local military volunteers, who after some confusion fired on them, killing three. These events were given great prominence in the Cape Town Nationalist newspaper, *Die Burger*, and it was clear that the authorities had been negligent in not providing adequate escort for the train or in taking effective steps to prevent drunkenness and unseemly behaviour. When the House of Assembly met the following morning, Dr. Malan moved the adjournment on a matter of urgent public importance and proceeded to lay the blame at the Government's door for its policy of arming non-Europeans and of generally failing to keep non-Europeans " in their place." He also dropped some dark hints about the activity of " Communist agitators." It was unfortunate that the Prime Minister was not present: at that moment he was returning by air from Pretoria. Mr. Hofmeyr, as leader of the House, had to reply for the Government. He had been fully supplied with particulars of the disturbances before the House met; but in reply to Dr. Malan he chose to make a petulant debating speech denying the accuracy of the account in *Die Burger* (although that now appears to have been substantially correct) and tactlessly suggesting that the Nationalists were merely out to turn the incident to political use. General Smuts, when he arrived in Cape Town later in the morning, was told of the lamentable tenor of the debate in Parliament and is reported to have expressed some irritation at Mr. Hofmeyr's handling of the issue. In the House, after the luncheon adjournment, he made a statement which was a clear repudiation of Mr. Hofmeyr's defence. He frankly admitted the main facts of the occurrence and said that he had been " badly let down " by his troops. He intended to institute a most rigorous public inquiry and to punish those who were held responsible. This effectively took the wind out of the Opposition's sails; but the Malanites exploited the opportunity of pointing out the contrast between Mr. Hofmeyr's and General Smuts's handling of the House to the detriment of the former. In this their feelings were shared by the back benchers on the Government side.

14. I have fully reported to you as it developed the situation in regard to the Indian " penetration " Act. Here it is enough to say that, in the view of many competent observers, the manner in which Mr. Hofmeyr conducted his opposition to the Bill has finally dissipated what probabilities there might have been of his ultimate succession to General Smuts in the leadership of the United Party. For a week after his offer of resignation in the first Cabinet meeting held to discuss the Bill he made no attempt to check the inflated rumours about a Cabinet " crisis," which were seized upon with avidity by the Opposition Press and found support even in the pro-Government papers. When in the end he made his statement in the House, it was clear that he was taking his stand on a matter of merely technical significance while giving away the whole principle of legislative discrimination against Indians in Natal. He gave general offence by the high moral tone in which he expressed the minutiæ of his disagreement with the Government; and it was significant that the Prime Minister, speaking in the debate, made only a passing reference to the " sincerity " of Mr. Hofmeyr's speech and did not attempt to traverse his ingenious argument.

15. The difficulty over the Indian penetration Bill demonstrated that Mr. Hofmeyr was without any personal support either in the United Party caucus or in the Cabinet. Dr. Steyn was careful not to intervene in the controversy; but no one was in doubt about its effect on the rivalry between the two Ministers for the ultimate succession to General Smuts. In the wrestling match which had long been the subject of lively cartoons in the Nationalist Press, Dr. Steyn was now always depicted on top; their contest became the subject of open jibes by Members of Parliament and of widespread speculation in the country. Dr. Steyn has done everything which political ingenuity could devise

to strengthen his position. He has gone out of his way to propitiate the most diverse sections of opinion on the Government side and in his attitude towards the Opposition he has pushed the policy of " appeasement " to its possible limit. If a vote were held in the United Party caucus at this moment he would no doubt obtain an overwhelming majority; but since General Smuts, at the age of 73, has more physical vigour and intellectual grasp than most men twenty or thirty years his junior, there is a general hope and expectation that he will continue as leader of the United Party and head of the Government for many years to come. Many who had succumbed to Dr. Steyn's persuasiveness and agreeable salesmanship are now beginning to doubt his strength of character or his real capacity for a post so difficult as that of Prime Minister in the anxious post-war years.

16. The session saw the return to Parliament of Mr. Waterson, who since the outbreak of war had been in London as the Union's High Commissioner. He entered the Cabinet as Mr. Stuttaford's successor at the Ministry of Commerce and Industries. He was obviously feeling his feet and was careful to keep in the background. He took no part in general debates but handled competently the business of his Department in the House. There are some who hope that he may in time emerge as the leader of whom the English-speaking section has so long been in need, and that he may even develop, given favourable circumstances, into the first Prime Minister of British descent. That, of course, is speculation of the long-distance kind. Mr. Waterson is clearly popular with Afrikaans as well as English-speaking South Africans.

17. I am pleased to report that Mr. Lawrence, whose political stock had last year been declining, has made a striking recovery. He was guilty of an error of judgment in his decision to constitute a Coloured Advisory Council, which the coloured people, influenced by a somewhat factitious agitation, interpreted as a segregationist move; but he mitigated the effect of his mistake with some agility by reducing the scope and functions of the Council and by a strenuous denial that his plan was anything but what it seemed, namely, an attempt to establish an official channel of communication between the Cape Coloured people and the Government. As Minister of the Interior it fell to him to pilot the Indian Penetration Bill through Parliament; this he did with real ability, restraint and tact. His handling of the Bill was conciliatory and he was careful not to give offence to the local Indians or to the Government of India in what was a very difficult situation. He also fully held his own against Mr. Hofmeyr in both caucus and Cabinet, much to the latter's chagrin.

18. It is hardly too much to say that the progress of the session confirmed most people's worst fears about the appointment of Major van der Byl as Minister of Native Affairs, in the place of Colonel Deneys Reitz. In his reply to Mrs. Ballinger's motion urging fundamental changes in the Union's native policy, he showed himself quite incapable of understanding the implications of policy: even pro-Government papers remarked that his speech was " inadequate." More than once he foolishly played up to the race prejudice of the Opposition; and he gratuitously confirmed the Government's adherence to the general policy of " segregation " which General Smuts himself only a year before had declared to be hopelessly out of date. Major van der Byl has had no previous contact with or knowledge of native affairs, the environment of his farm at Bredasdorp being exclusively Cape Coloured. As Minister for Native Affairs he made a bad beginning.

19. Of the other Ministers it need only be said that Mr. Sturrock, the Minister of Railways and Harbours, confirmed his reputation as an able and sound administrator; and that Colonel Collins, the Minister of Agriculture and Food Controller, made such a muddle of the Union's food policy that at one time it was believed that he had been prevailed upon to retire after the general election; but he has now receded from that beneficent intention. Senator Conroy, the Minister of Lands, gave the Opposition some useful election ammunition by his attacks on the administration of the Kakamas settlement scheme by the Dutch Reformed Church, though there was much substance in his accusation of venality on the part of the august hierarchy. Mr. Madeley, the Minister of Labour, was hardly heard of at all and, indeed spent much of the session in Johannesburg in winning over the support of his left-wing followers to the election agreement with the United Party. Colonel Stallard's only notable intervention in debate was a deplorable attempt to exploit race prejudice against the Indian population of Natal, a lead inevitably followed by his small band of stalwart reactionaries.

20. Of the private members of the Government coalition none was distinguished by any special contribution to the business of the House. Mr. Leslie Blackwell, K.C., who for many years has performed useful work as chairman of the Public Accounts Committee and has been effective in debate on financial measures, has at last received the reward for faithful service of appointment to the Transvaal Bench. It was unfortunate that his last weeks in the House should have been marred by an outburst when he strongly criticised those soldiers who took their complaints to Opposition members as " skunks in uniform." Mr. Long, a former editor of the *Cape Times*, who has made several useful contributions to debates on matters of constitutional significance, has been refused the United Party nomination for the Gardens division of Cape Town which he has represented since the general election of 1938. While he had done much less than had been expected of him, his loss to Parliament is a serious one for it means yet another reduction in the diminishing group of members competent to represent the views of a large section of South Africans of British descent.

21. It is generally admitted that the outstandingly successful private member of the session was Mrs. Ballinger, one of the three natives' representatives. Her Parliamentary style has matured and her speeches are attractively presented, lucid, pointful and well-reasoned. General Smuts himself, in private conversation, has declared that she is the best speaker in the House. She introduced one of the most important debates of the session with an urgent plea for a recasting of the official native policy of the Union frankly to accept, and to make provision for, the rapid rise of a permanently urbanized native population based on industry. She and her colleagues were the only members to cast their votes against the Indian penetration Bill; and their stout defence of liberal principle in racial matters throughout the session received a striking tribute when Dr. Malan, Mr. Louw, and other leaders of the Opposition parties singled them out for embittered personal attack and warned them that the Nationalist Party, when it comes to power, will seriously consider the abolition of

the exiguous special native representation as an "experiment that had failed." Mrs. Ballinger is conspicuous and exceptional among back benchers in her realization of the major problems confronting the Union of South Africa after the war, and in the courage and moderation with which she has lost no opportunity of endeavouring to educate public opinion. Her ideas and policy are objective and her own. Emphatically she is a principal rather than an agent. In knowledge and ability she outdistances the other native representatives in both Houses of Parliament. She is a valuable figure of light in the public life of South Africa.

22. In the absence of any very controversial legislation it was not surprising that Dr. Malan and the official Nationalist Opposition found their chief interest during the session in preparing the way, by judicious propaganda, for their election appeal to the country. Dr. Malan, forsaking the familiar ground of political and constitutional questions, introduced a long motion setting out the Nationalist Party's policy on economic and social matters. This included State control of key industries and of the banking system, a State housing scheme and medical service and the acceptance by the State of responsibility for providing work for the European unemployed. Two years before, the official Opposition motion of the session had pressed for withdrawal from the war. Last year Dr. Malan laid down the Party's programme for the achievement of a republic. It is significant of the change that has come over the war prospects of the Allies that this year the Opposition should tacitly accept the certainty of an Allied victory, and frame a policy which by implication envisages the continuance, in the foreseeable future at least of the present system of government in the Union. In view of the Government's apparent inability to come forward with any well-considered and comprehensive plans of social and economic progress and of the intense conservatism of Mr. Hofmeyr's financial dictatorship, it was undoubtedly a shrewd decision on the part of the Nationalists to concentrate on social issues. But long absorption in the commonplaces of political and constitutional debate has not been a good training for the discussion of social and economic problems; and it was clear from the speeches in the ensuing debate that the Nationalist leaders were on unfamiliar ground.

23. The other principal Opposition demonstration of the session took place on Mr. Eric Louw's motion calling attention to the dangers of Communist activity in the Union and demanding the suppression of the Communist Party and the deportation of its leading members. This was a patent attempt to dress up in a new guise the old bogy of a black revolution in South Africa and to use it to stampede the more ignorant part of the electorate into the Nationalist kraal at the general election. It was fully dealt with in my despatch No. 144 of the 16th April*.

24. Released by the certain prospect of Allied victory from the necessity of placating Germany, Dr. Malan and his friends were able to re-affirm their democratic standpoint and to intensify their attacks on the forlorn groups of Nazi sympathizers in the Union. Mr. Pirow made infrequent and gloomy appearances in the House, and his only remark of consequence was to the effect that he was "sick of the whole business" and had no intention of returning to Parliament after the election. He is now an embittered and frustrated lawyer politician whose gamble on a German victory has led him to disaster. His personal hold on his exiguous group of followers in the New Order group in Parliament has noticeably relaxed. Even his personal appearance has changed. Instead of the rather cocky Mr. Pirow of pre-war years an older shrunken figure, resembling a hunted fox, haunts the lobbies and dining room of the House of Assembly. Many members of the New Order group are in open revolt against his fiat that no members of the New Order should stand for re-election: his chief lieutenant, the Reverend C. W. M. du Toit, has left the group and is standing as a "people's unity" candidate against Mr. Strydom leader of the Transvaal Nationalists, at Waterberg. Another, Mr. Grobler, is standing for re-election in his present constituency of Brits.

25. The Afrikaner Party also made an ineffective showing. One of its members, the representative in the House of Assembly of Johannesburg West, made a recantation of his opposition to the war and crossed the floor to an inconspicuous seat on the Government side. Mr. Havenga, the Party's extra-Parliamentary leader, was in Cape Town for a large part of the session trying to stop the process of disintegration. His influence was sufficient to prevent any further defections but not enough to inject renewed spirit into his disconsolate followers. He made a tentative approach to Dr. Malan for an election agreement which would have ensured Nationalist support for Afrikaner Party members in the seats they now hold; but this was summarily rejected by the Nationalists, who were not concerned to bolster up the fortunes of a declining group and would not consider anything but unconditional surrender by Mr. Havenga and his friends. It was clear from Dr. Malan's attitude that his object was not so much the formation of a united Opposition front for the coming elections as the complete elimination of rival groups and the establishment of the Nationalist Party under his own leadership as the "political front" of Afrikanerdom. The position on the eve of the election is that the Afrikaner Party has already put up candidates against the Nationalists in thirteen constituencies in the Orange Free State and about five in the Transvaal; and that the Ossewa Brandwag is backing rebellious members of Mr. Pirow's group as "national unity" candidates against Malanites in two or three Transvaal constituencies, or is even openly putting up its own anti-war candidates in potentially Nationalist seats.

26. The main legislative business of the session was confined to the financial measures connected with the Budget. The only other legislation of interest was two measures piloted without much grace through Parliament by Mr. Hofmeyr, designed to increase State supervision of insurance companies and building societies.

27. An interesting position has arisen with regard to the Speaker's seat. Mr. Jansen won the Vryheid seat in Natal at the last election as a member of the pre-war "Fusion" Party; but his antecedents are Nationalist, and if he were forced by United Party opposition to contest the seat he would have to declare himself a member of Dr. Malan's party. He has been an excellent Speaker—probably the best to have presided over the House of Assembly since Union; and at the close of the session tributes were paid to his impartiality and integrity by leaders of all parties in the House.

* No. 6.

It would be a calamity if his services were lost to the House as a result of party defeat in the election; at the same time sympathy can be felt with the United Party's reluctance to let a seat go by default to the anti-war Opposition, even if there is only the most remote possibility of the Speaker having to give a casting vote in a matter of vital principle. Many remedies for the difficulty are being discussed; but the Union Parliament seems no nearer than the House of Commons to finding a solution which will both remove the anomalies from the Speaker's position and safeguard the democratic rights of electors in his constituency.

28. I am sending copies of this despatch to the High Commissioners for the United Kingdom in Ottawa, Canberra and Wellington.

I have, &c.,

HARLECH,

High Commissioner.

G. 581/23.

No. 8.

DESPATCH

from

ACTING HIGH COMMISSIONER IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA FOR HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

(Received 22nd July, 1943.)

(South Africa.)

(No. 214.)

Pretoria, 7th July, 1943.

SIR,

I have the honour to report that the civil population are recording their votes in the general election throughout the Union to-day (the 7th July). Elaborate arrangements were made for voting by soldiers in North Africa, in the United Kingdom and in camps within the Union itself during the last days of June. It will be many days before the sealed ballot boxes from abroad containing the soldiers' votes will have arrived in Pretoria; and until these votes have been distributed, according to the cumbersome procedure observed in the case of postal votes, among the 150 European constituencies of the Union, the counting of the civil votes cannot begin. There is therefore little likelihood of the results being announced before the 28th July, although this date may be anticipated by a day or two if the transport by air of the ballot boxes from the North can be expedited.

2. As I reported in my telegram No. 809 of the 16th June*, the parties belonging to the Government coalition nominated candidates in every constituency except Dr. Malan's. The Nationalist leader was thus the only member of the Opposition groups to be returned unopposed. The United Party put forward candidates and gave its support, in terms of General Smuts' election agreements with the satellite parties, to nine candidates of the Labour Party and nine of the Dominion Party. In four of the Natal constituencies the Labour and Dominion Parties had announced their intention to carry their bitter rivalry to the arbitrament of the polls; but on the advent of a Nationalist candidate in the Umlazi division of Durban (the only Nationalist to venture into this stronghold of pro-British sentiment) the Labour candidate withdrew his challenge to the Dominionite holder of the seat. The nominations in the end revealed two official representatives of the Labour Party presenting a strenuous challenge to Colonel Stallard, leader of the Dominion Party at Pietermaritzburg, and to his henchman, Mr. Derbyshire, at Durban Central. The Dominionites, for their part, retorted with a challenge to the Labour Party's tenure of the Umbilo division of Durban. In none of these constituencies was there an Opposition candidate to take advantage of a split pro-war vote. In three other Dominionite divisions in Natal the official candidates were confronted with vigorous opposition of independent pro-war candidates who up to a few weeks previously had been members of the United Party. In only one constituency was a Dominion Party member returned unopposed. Sixteen United Party candidates from the Cape Peninsula, the Eastern districts of the Cape and the Witwatersrand were returned unopposed. These included Mr. Waterson, the Minister of Commerce and Industries, who had succeeded Mr. Stuttaford at Claremont.

3. Apart from the internecine conflict between the Labour and the Dominion Parties, the Government side was embarrassed by the opposition of the Independent Labour Party in three Rand constituencies as a protest against the continued collaboration of the Labour Party with General Smuts and by the nomination of nine Communist candidates, mainly in the Cape Peninsula and on the Rand. In the two Peninsula divisions of Salt River and Woodstock, Mr. Lawrence, the Minister of the Interior, and another United Party candidate have had a close fight against Communist candidates who had ammunition ready to hand in the Cape Coloured people's resentment over Mr. Lawrence's ill-advised appointment of a Coloured Advisory Council. Opponents of this step found it only too easy to represent it as yet another move towards the political and social segregation of the coloured people.

4. *Nationalists and the Towns.*—The Nationalist Party nominated 110 candidates. Its awakening to the growing importance of the towns was shown by its invasion of no fewer than 23 out of the 32 divisions on the Witwatersrand and all the Pretoria constituencies. It also made a demonstration by contesting seats in the Cape Peninsula and Durban, the citadels of pro-Government opinion. For the rest, it relied for its chief support on the country districts of the western and northern Cape, the Orange Free State and the western and northern Transvaal.

5. The conflict between the Opposition groups, which through the war years has been the scandal of Nationalist Afrikanerdom and the scorn of pro-war opinion, reached its climax at the polls. Thwarted in its offer of election arrangement with the Nationalists and eagerly nursing its hopes

* G. 581/16: not printed.

of revenge for the Malanites' treatment of the late General Hertzog, the Afrikaner Party nominated its representatives in 13 of the 14 Orange Free State constituencies, and in 10 Transvaal seats where its opposition would be of most embarrassment to the Nationalists. Moreover, it joined with the little disgruntled group of Mr. Pirow's followers (the majority of whom at the behest of their leader had been compelled to withdraw from Parliamentary politics) and the Ossewa Brandwag to sponsor 11 " People's Unity " candidates in the Transvaal. In numerous constituencies the Nationalist Party had bitter visions of the anti-war vote dissipated among the contending groups, to the profit of government candidates whose hopes were feeding on the spectacle of Opposition disunity.

6. Such was the alignment of parties and groups on nomination day. An account of individual candidates may properly wait for the sequel to this despatch, when the results are known and popular suffrage has done its winnowing. In the meanwhile you may be interested in a description of the election campaign with the interplay and opposition of personalities and forces, the adaptation of party policies to the needs of the moment and the confusing clash of slogans.

7. *A Referendum on the War.*—The figure of the Prime Minister has dominated the elections as it has dominated the whole of South African political life in the years of war. The time was of his choosing: a victorious campaign had ended, great vistas had opened out and the minds of the people were not yet addressed to the portentous hazards that lie ahead. General Smuts from the first firmly made South Africa's participation in the war the central issue of the election. " This great political fight," he said, " has been going on for about four years, from the moment Parliament decided to go into the war and defend the right as we then saw it. And in the last four years we probably saw the bitterest political struggle in our history. These few weeks are only the end of the battle ". A general election at the present stage was in the nature of a referendum on South Africa's participation in the war—" the greatest episode in mankind's history ". Every vote was required to prove to the world that South Africans were determined to prosecute the war until human freedom was secure. Again and again in his election speeches he returned to the moral issue. In his last speech in Johannesburg on the eve of the voting he told his audience: " You may read history for a thousand years and you will not read of times as grave, and fraught with such vast issues, as the times through which we are passing ". National honour, he constantly emphasized, demanded South Africa's full participation in the war to the victorious end. He castigated the " senseless folly " of Dr. Malan, who had promised that the Nationalists, if returned to power, would withdraw the Union's soldiers to within her borders. " Whereas neutrality might have been an arguable issue four years ago, to go out of the war now, to slink out of the conflict, is an unthinkable action to-day ".

8. General Smuts declared that if a strong Government was needed to carry on the war, it would be no less needed to confront the difficult days of peace. " I want us ", he said, " to tackle the social and economic situation in South Africa after this war with the same courage and resolution with which we have tackled the war situation ". A better standard of nutrition for the ten million people of South Africa and the need of contributing to the feeding of the starving millions of Europe would provide great opportunities for agriculture. The army would make available aircraft hangars for the storage of food and South Africa could well provide for a rainy day. Prices could be stabilized. There would be great development of manufacturing industry. The switch-over from war industry to a peace economy had already been begun.

9. Turning to South Africa's relations with the world the Prime Minister emphasized again and again that the Union's peace " could be properly based only on world security. . . . Isolationism is dead—as dead as the dodo. It is dead in the Middle West of America and in the backveld of South Africa. It lies buried in the ruins of this great war ". The Union would play its part in Africa. It had no " sinister aims " with regard to African territories in the North. " It merely wants to follow a good neighbour policy, to trade with them, to open communications by land, sea and air and to find markets in the North ".

10. *Speeches of Ministers.*—Of the other Members of the Cabinet, Mr. Hofmeyr alone dealt much in general issues. In a number of speeches in the Eastern Cape and on the Witwatersrand he defined the war issue in terms very similar to those of the Prime Minister. The main issue before the people, he said, was whether South Africa should continue "to fight for freedom and right or should try to withdraw from humanity's struggle ". He also emphasized the need for progress in matters of social welfare. The Government, he said, asked not only for a mandate to carry on the war but a mandate to win the peace. . . . We as a Government have been looking beyond this war. We want to build up a better South Africa, we want to ensure a better life for all sections of the people ". He made it clear that for this purpose the Government would be ready to continue, or even to increase, the scale of taxation now in force. At the same time, Mr. Hofmeyr, like all his other colleagues, was not above exploiting any vote-catching expedient. Thus, defending his taxation policy, he boasted proudly that " while in Australia a married man with one child and an income of £500 paid £95 in income tax, a man similarly situated in South Africa paid £12 ".

11. Other Ministers confined their attention for the most part to the affairs of their respective departments. Mr. Sturrock emphasized the efforts which the railways administration had made to improve the conditions of life of railway workers. He defended the necessity of maintaining the reserve of £10,000,000 which he had built up during the war as a means of neutralizing the ill effects of a possible post-war depression; but he also pointed out that railway workers had nevertheless received increments of pay amounting to £8,400,000 a year. He denied that he had receded from the notorious " white labour policy " on the railways and explained the engagement of 4,000 native unskilled labourers as being due to the difficulty of recruiting white workers. But, he added, as soon as the necessary European workers were available, these natives would be discharged. This was an inevitable concession to the race prejudice and sectional economic interest of white South Africans. Further, as Chairman of the Select Committee which had recommended increases in soldiers' pay amounting to £5½ millions a year Mr. Sturrock was able to make much of the benefits which had been conferred on the men and women of the South African armed forces. He made a number of hopeful references to the possibility of expansion in the South African mercantile marine.

12. Mr. Waterson for his part held out rosy prospects to both farmers and industrialists. In the course of a tour of the Cape's country districts, he assured farmers that agriculture would form an integral part of the post-war development of secondary industry. In planning for the future the Government would start with the principle that primary products could most profitably be used in South Africa as food for man and beast, or as the raw materials of secondary industry. They could be exported in their final form. As examples of the close community of interest between farmers and manufacturers he announced that the production of canned foods had increased from 88,000,000 in 1940 to 221,000,000 this year. For army purposes alone 5,000,000 pairs of boots had been made from South African hides and nearly 4,000,000 blankets from South African wool. He said that it was the aim of the Government to influence the location of industry in order to maintain a balanced population throughout the country. In a striking passage in a speech at East London he declared that " One of the most urgent needs of the country, both in the name of humanity and of common sense, is to improve the economic conditions of the native and to encourage him and make it possible for him to improve his country, develop its wealth and earn enough money to satisfy his legitimate needs ". It is a significant commentary on the Hertzog Act which relegated the natives of the Cape to a separate electoral roll and thus absolved politicians from the need of paying even lip-service to native interests, that a statement so self-evident should shine amidst the welter of election speeches.

13. In his references to industrial development, Mr. Waterson laid down the principle that intervention by the State to encourage the growth of industry must be governed by the long-range interests of the community. He gave no indication of how the Government proposed to reconcile the encouragement of industry by means of tariffs with the principles of the Atlantic Charter. This is a question which is coming increasingly to agitate the minds of those interested in the expansion of manufacturing industry in the Union.

14. Dr. Colin Steyn, as was to be expected, found in the election campaign full scope for his gifts of political management. His formal speeches were few but he was active behind the scenes in the work of organization. He has made it one of his chief responsibilities to prevent the revival after the present war of the " pact " between Nationalists and Labour which paved the way for General Hertzog's rise to power in 1924; and he spoke two or three times from the same platform as Mr. Madeley, the leader of the Labour Party and his colleague in the Cabinet. Despite the fact that his seat at Bloemfontein has throughout the war been a United Party oasis amidst the anti-war desert of the Orange Free State, the Steyn tradition and his own political ability have combined to assure his position there.

15. Colonel Collins, the Minister of Agriculture, was prevented by an injury sustained while riding from taking an active part in the election at Wakkerstroom, where he has met with stiff opposition; Major van der Byl confined his activities almost entirely to his own constituency at Bredasdorp in the Western Cape, where his prospects have not been improved by the importation, as a result of the last delimitation, of a large number of voters with Nationalist sympathies from the neighbouring district; and Mr. Lawrence was fully occupied by his attempt to persuade the coloured voters of the Western Cape of the Government's concern for their interests. Senator Conroy, in the course of his demagogic stumping of the countryside, painted hopeful pictures of the vast irrigation schemes which his department is said to be preparing.

16. Mr. Madeley found some difficulty in trying to justify to his less conservative followers the wisdom, from the Labour Party point of view, of his continued collaboration with General Smuts. At some of his meetings on the Rand, confronted by memories of the 1922 strike, he assured his audiences that the Smuts with whom he had worked in cordial co-operation during the war was a different man from the Smuts who had crushed the armed revolt with such severity. As the fruits of his membership of the coalition Government Mr. Madeley could point to the amended Workmen's Compensation Act, the Factories Act and other industrial legislation which had been of benefit to the workers. He was nevertheless unable to prevent the secession of the well-organized Garment Workers' Union under the leadership of Mr. E. Sachs, who proceeded to form an Independent Labour Party and to nominate candidates against the official coalition candidates in three constituencies on the Witwatersrand.

17. *Weakness of Dominion Party.*—The election campaign has finally exposed the fundamental weakness of Colonel Stallard's position. The Dominion Party was formed as a protest of the reactionary English-speaking population of Natal and the Eastern Cape against the collaboration of Generals Hertzog and Smuts in the " Fusion " Government of 1932. It was essentially the product of fears of Afrikaner domination; but it tried to rationalize its attitude by propounding a theory of constitutional relationships within the British Commonwealth which was derided by scholars and out of touch with both the facts and the spirit of modern development. Up to the outbreak of war it had regarded General Smuts with extreme bitterness and had accused him of betraying his English-speaking followers to the Nationalist enemy. In the years of the Fusion Government the *East London Despatch* which then espoused its cause, could refer to the present leader of South Africa as " Juan Smutsino, the prince of patter-mongers "; and the *Natal Mercury*, which was also at that time a supporter of the Dominion Party, went to almost unprecedented lengths of vituperation against him. The decision to enter the coalition Government on the outbreak of war destroyed at one blow the elaborate structure of constitutional pedantry which Colonel Stallard and his followers had been busily erecting for seven years. Membership of the Cabinet alone made it necessary to push the constitutional difference with General Smuts into the background: in the harsh glare of war it has faded away altogether. General Smuts is acclaimed in London as a statesman of world eminence and as a chief pillar of the British Commonwealth of Nations: who, then is Colonel Stallard to impugn the orthodoxy of his views? Deprived of the main plank of its platform, the Dominion Party faces the abyss of political annihilation. In its desperation it tries to fill the gap by frantic protestations of its loyalty to the leader whom only recently it was reviling. Of constructive policy it has not a shred; and in matters of social welfare its Parliamentary record is bad.

18. The Labour Party cannot forgive Colonel Stallard and his friends for the part they played in obstructing the passage of its Bill to set up a municipal savings bank in Durban; and the electoral struggle in Natal between these two members of the Government coalition has been of a bitterness not surpassed in the conflict between United Party and Nationalists in other parts of the country. The pathetic attempts of the Dominion Party to reconcile its support of reactionary financial interests with the growing public demand for a " social security " scheme under State aegis have exposed it to widespread ridicule. In the Berea division of Durban the Dominion Party candidate, Mr. Hooper, who has held the seat since 1938, has been opposed by an independent pro-war candidate, Mr. Sullivan, who is an able economist and the principal founder of the Social Security Association. Mr. Sullivan succeeded in manœuvring Mr. Hooper into a debate on the subject of social security and the resulting debacle may well lead to Mr. Sullivan's return by a large majority. In another Durban constituency the Dominion Party was precipitated into a serious difficulty by its nomination of a candidate who, it has since been learned, was a member of the Labour Party as recently as April and in that capacity had violently opposed the continued collaboration of the Party with General Smuts. To conclude this tale of the misfortunes which have befallen this unhappy group I should not omit to add that Labour Party speakers in Durban have made allegations that Colonel Stallard, when he saw General Smuts in Cape Town before entering the Cabinet at the outbreak of war, drove a most selfish bargain with the Prime Minister in return for the support of his party. Colonel Stallard travelled by air to Pretoria to obtain from General Smuts a refutation of this allegation: all he received was a diplomatic denial couched in notably lukewarm terms. The story has undoubtedly done much damage to Colonel Stallard's prospects at Pietermaritzburg and may well have tipped the balance against him. On the other hand, the *raison d'être* of this party is the particularism of Natal, which has shown little sign of changing. It seems probable therefore that even though the party may suffer a setback they will yet hold more Natal seats after the election than any other single party.

19. Of the pro-war groups it remains to make a brief reference to the Communist Party. Apart from Dr. Sacks, the eminent and respected Cape Town surgeon who has gravely threatened Mr. Lawrence at Salt River, and the demagogic barrister who appears to have more than a favourable chance at Woodstock, none of its nine candidates has made much impression on the election campaign. Their manifesto, indeed, betrayed no hint of Marxist doctrine; and it falls short of even moderate socialist principles. Instead, these candidates have taken their stand on a platform of the most moderate social reform. They demanded " work for all at a living wage; sufficient food, clothing and homes; security in illness and old age; education for every child; freedom to speak your mind and to choose your own government." They made no mention of the social, political and economic colour bar as it affects the native population; but it is significant that they have done best in the two Cape Peninsula divisions where a large coloured population, depressed and ostracized by white society, was ready to welcome candidates free from the taint of repressive policy which clings to the two principal parties.

20. *The Nationalist Case.*—Dr. Malan led his cohorts into battle on a wide front. He sidestepped the war issue and attacked it from the flank. On the very lowest plane South Africa's participation in the war had been justified by success: remembering what ignoble eagerness he had betrayed, during the days of German successes, to be on the apparently winning side, Dr. Malan could hardly refuse an unwilling admiration for General Smuts, whose faith in an Allied victory now seemed certainly justified by the event. The question of neutrality had at last become too academic even for the theorists of the Nationalist Party. The emphasis now was on the necessity of reducing the costs of the war and the extent of South Africa's participation in the conflict. Dr. Malan admitted that the conclusion of a separate peace with Germany would be impracticable; the most that could be attempted was the withdrawal of South African forces to the Union and the adoption of a posture of heroic defence on the country's borders. The maintenance of the war policy in the interests of the Empire, he said, was costing the country £270,000 a day. For an expenditure at this rate the whole bonded indebtedness of South African farmers could be liquidated in a year or irrigation schemes ensuring a livelihood for 600,000 persons could be undertaken.

21. The " imperial policy " of the present Government, Dr. Malan continued, was also costing the country dear in the economic field. General Smuts had opposed the establishment of the South African Iron and Steel Corporation in 1928: the reason was that Great Britain had large steel works and her market in the Union had to be safeguarded. Iscor was a monument to nationalism in the economic sphere. A nationalist republic was necessary for the safeguarding of the Union's economic interests; it was also necessary for the maintenance of white domination in South Africa. The English-speaking people, he said, were just as much concerned as the Afrikaner to ensure that South Africa remained a " white man's country "; but they opposed legislation in the interests of this ideal on the ground that it would be damaging to Imperial relations and because they needed the Cape Coloured population's vote to maintain the ties with the Empire.

22. One of the most significant features of the election campaign was the gradual modification which appeared in Dr. Malan's republican policy. It was clear that he was making efforts to reassure the English-speaking section on this issue: in so doing he was repeating the tactics which had secured the support of a not inconsiderable proportion of the English-speaking people for the Nationalist Party in 1924 and opened the way for the accession to power of General Hertzog's first Government. In reply to a question whether he would establish a republic if he were elected he declared that it would be useless to do so " if at the next moment it would be overthrown ". The implication was plain—that a republic could not be set up in South Africa unless it received the considered support of a sufficiently large part of the English-speaking people to make its foundations secure. This of course, is the very policy which General Hertzog had propounded in his dealings with the Malanites in the early days of the war, during which he repeatedly insisted that if the Nationalist Party continued to confine its appeal to the Afrikaans-speaking people it would be doomed to " 25 years in the political wilderness ". But it is vastly different from the narrow sectional policy which was enshrined in the Nationalist Party's draft republican constitution of January, 1942. This draft, which was tentatively accepted by Dr. Malan, was notable for the rigorous exclusion from equal political and social rights of all sections of the population which did not conform to the most narrow standards of orthodox Afrikaner nationalism.

23. This modified republicanism was preached by all those lieutenants of Dr. Malan who were seeking the suffrage of urban constituencies. Thus Dr. Potgieter, the Nationalist candidate for the Krugersdorp division of the Witwatersrand, speaking in English, assured an audience that the Nationalist Party was out to eliminate poverty and finish racialism; it was a republican party but it would take no part in a republic which did not give the English-speaking people a fair deal; it was prepared to co-operate with Great Britain, but not as a Dominion. Mr. du Plessis, the " information secretary " of the Nationalist Party, issued a statement which defined the party's goal as " a united nation in a free democratic republic on the basis of equality, with the preservation of the identity, language and culture of each (European) section ". It is not surprising, however, that such willingness to compromise on a fundamental issue was viewed with much misgiving by the more extreme groups of the Nationalist Party. *Die Transvaler* went out of its way to assure readers that there could be no question of compromise: the party, if returned to power, would take all the necessary steps for the establishment of a republican form of government; and Mr. Strydom and Mr. Swart, the Nationalist leaders in the Transvaal and Orange Free State respectively, have been equally precise in their appeals to the Afrikaners of the platteland.

24. *The Soldiers' Vote.*—What hopes the Nationalist Party may have had of profiting from the grievances of soldiers were largely dashed by the generous increases which were made in army pay and allowances during the recent session of Parliament. It did its best to make amends for the bitter jibes and insults which Nationalist politicians of the more irresponsible kind used to level at the army in the early days of the war. The Nationalist Party, said Dr. Malan, " honoured the soldier " who had joined the army out of conviction and commiserated with those who had been " forced in by economic pressure ". It guaranteed European soldiers maintenance of the full financial benefits conferred upon them by Act of Parliament, though it would certainly give no such undertaking to members of the Native Military Corps (who have no votes) or to coloured soldiers (who in any case vote for the United Party). Nationalist speakers and Press were active in attempts to exploit the grievances of that not inconsiderable minority of the army which had refused to take the extended oath for service " outside Africa ", and complained that, despite the Prime Minister's assurances, it had been subjected to unfair pressure and even victimization by commanding officers. At one or two meetings on the Rand the Nationalists were even able to produce men in uniform who assured the audience that the Nationalist Party had the support of large numbers in their respective camps. But there is no reason to doubt that, when the time for voting arrived, the vast majority of soldiers cast grievances aside and voted for their Commander-in-Chief.

25. Whilst most Opposition speakers, especially in the platteland, produced the inevitable bogy of Communist activity among the non-European population, the force of their warnings had undoubtedly been weakened by the announcement of the dissolution of the Comintern, which, from the point of the South African elections, could hardly have been better timed. General Smuts, for his part, made the not ineffective observation that although the Government had been accused of fostering Communist activity in South Africa, it was Government candidates and not those of the Opposition whom the Communist Party was opposing in the elections.

26. *Intervention by Zeesen.*—A feature of the elections which caused much embarrassment to Nationalist candidates was the open intervention on their side of the German radio station at Zeesen, which broadcast nightly injunction to its " dear friends and listeners " to vote against " General Smuts, Washington, London, the Jews and the Bolsheviks ". Among much skilfully concocted advice which it offered to voters in the Union was the suggestion that now was the time for the Union to demand the handing over of the High Commission Territories. This espousal of its cause by Zeesen may have been embarrassing at a time when the Nationalist Party was being branded by Government propagandists as the " tool of Hitler "; but it was not without its advantages in an election in which the timorous neutrality of the South African Broadcasting Corporation denied the use of the microphone for any political purposes and refrained even from reporting as news the principal speeches of the contending parties. The slogans which spread across the front page of *Die Transvaler* reached Zeesen by way of the German agents so conveniently placed across the border at Lourenco Marques; and they were made the theme of talks broadcast with ingratiating friendliness into the uttermost depths of the platteland.

27. Throughout the election campaign the feud between the Malanites and the other Opposition groups raged with a bitter intensity. In the Orange Free State, the Nationalist provincial leader's seat at Winburg was menaced by the Afrikaner Party's action in dividing the anti-war vote; and in the Transvaal the paradoxically named " Unity candidates " presented a similar threat to the joint leaders, Mr. Strydom and General Kemp. Dr. van Rensburg, in defining the attitude of the Ossewa Brandwag to the elections, made it plain that his organization could not be expected to " vote for its own butcher "; and in more than one constituency where the Nationalist was opposed only by a United Party representative there seemed every possibility of the Ossewa Brandwag secretly " sabotaging " the Nationalist Party's position by voting for its opponent. Mr. Havenga, in his speeches throughout the Orange Free State (where the majority of his candidates were standing) laid the blame for the failure to achieve an electoral arrangement between the Opposition groups on Dr. Malan, whom he accused of being more concerned to destroy his Afrikaner rivals than to defeat General Smuts. There was, indeed, much truth in this: no one would be more embarrassed than Dr. Malan if by some altogether improbable accident he were to attain office at this election. His strategy is, on the other hand, the quite intelligible one at this stage of consolidating nationalist Afrikaner forces under his own leadership in preparation for the grand post-war assault on the bastions of General Smuts' power.

28. *Doctrine of Equal Rights.*—Mr. Havenga put forward with moderation and some persuasiveness the doctrine of equal rights for both sections of the European community which General Hertzog used to preach before his later pro-Nazi aberration. He was all for a republic, he said, but this could only be established on the " broad basis of the people's will ": in other words, a radical change in the constitution must wait upon the conversion to the republican ideal of a fair proportion of the English-speaking section. He scoffed at Dr. Malan's sudden conversion to the

doctrine of equal rights. He stoutly contested the Nationalist view that South Africa's participation in the war was the product of the present constitution. The Union Parliament, he said, had been as free in its choice of war as the Congress of the United States and the mere possession of republican forms of government would not in itself be a guarantee against participation in future wars. He maintained, however, that so long as the formal link with the British Commonwealth existed the English-speaking people of the Union would be torn between divided allegiances and would be unable to take a strictly South African view of this country's interests in issues of war and peace.

29. Mr. Havenga has never wavered in his opposition to the war; but he devoted little attention to this subject in his election speeches. On the other hand he made no attacks on General Smuts or the United Party. His principal concern throughout was to prosecute his feud with Dr. Malan and to justify his action in dividing the anti-war vote. He has said nothing which will prevent his return, once the war is over, to the United Party side. In the meanwhile his influence must necessarily be inconsiderable.

30. For the sake of convenience I summarize here the state of parties in the House of Assembly when Parliament was dissolved on 31st May:—

Pro-war		Anti-war	
United Party	72	Nationalist Party	41
Dominion Party	8	New Order Group	16
Labour	4	Afrikaner Party	8
		Independent	1
Total	84‡	Total	66

‡ In addition the three representatives of the natives usually voted with the Government on major issues.

31. I am sending copies of this despatch to the High Commissioners for the United Kingdom in Ottawa, Canberra and Wellington.

I have, &c.,

C. G. L. SYERS.

Acting High Commissioner.

G. 581/28.

No. 9.

DESPATCH

from

ACTING HIGH COMMISSIONER IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA FOR HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

(Received 7th September, 1943.)

(South Africa.)

(No. 257.)

Pretoria, 23rd August, 1943.

SIR,

In my despatch No. 214 of the 7th July* I gave an account of the general election campaign in the Union, which had drawn to a close at the polls on that day; and in my telegram No. 1004 of the 30th July† I sent you the final results which had just then become available, together with my comments on their most significant features. I now propose to amplify these comments and to analyse the bearing of the election results on the political life of the Union.

2. For the sake of convenience I repeat, in tabular form, the summary of the state of parties:

		After Elections.	At Dissolution, 31st May.
Pro-War:	United Party	89	72
	Labour Party	9	4
	Dominion Party	7	8
	Independents	2§	0
	Natives' Representatives	3‖	3‖
	Total	110	87
Anti-War:	Nationalist Party	43	41
	New Order Group	0¶	16
	Afrikaner Party	0	8
	Independent	0	1
	Total	43	66
Pro-War Majority		67	21

§ One has since applied for re-admission to United Party.

‖ Not members of Government coalition, but they give Government general support on major issues.

¶ Did not contest elections.

* No. 8.

† G. 581/25: not printed.

The Provincial Distribution of seats among the various parties is as follows:—

	Cape.	Transvaal.	Orange Free State.	Natal.	Total.
United Party	35	47	1	6	89
Nationalist Party	19	11	13	0	43
Labour Party	1	6	0	2	9
Dominion Party	1	0	0	6	7
Independents	0	0	0	2	2
Total	56	64	14	16	150

The details can be conveniently seen from the enclosed map*.

"Referendum" on the War.

Since at an early stage in the election campaign General Smuts let it be known that the election would be regarded as a referendum on the war issue, a comparison of aggregate votes is of interest.

After due allowance has been made for unopposed returns, the final results in votes are approximately:

Pro-War	630,937
Anti-War	361,274
Majority	269,663

From this it may be deduced that something like 60 per cent. of Afrikaners are still opposed to participation in the war. Moreover, since the 100,000 voters in the army cast their votes almost solidly for General Smuts and the war policy, it is clear that more than 60 per cent. of the Afrikaner *civilian* voters supported the anti-war candidates.

Urban and Rural Seats.

In the Union there are 68 seats which are classified by the Delimitation Commission as urban, that is, whose quota of voters can be overloaded up to 15 per cent. Of these the Nationalist Party won only 3. The United Party won 50, the Dominion Party 4, the Labour Party 9, and Independent candidates 2.

Of the 82 rural constituencies, the United Party won 39, the Nationalist Party 40 and the Dominion Party 3.

3. The most striking feature of these results is, of course, the enormous increase which General Smuts has obtained in his Parliamentary majority. The United Party alone now has a decisive majority over all parties combined, and General Smuts is no longer dependent on the support of the satellite groups for a majority on the war issue. The United Party has gained on balance 18 seats:—7 from the Nationalists, 8 from Mr. Pirow's New Order group, 2 from the Afrikaner Party, and 6 of the new seats created by the redelimitation of constituencies last year. It has lost to the Nationalist Party the two seats of Calvinia (northern Cape) and Frankfort (O.F.S.), which were regarded as a forlorn hope and were not even contested by their representatives in the last Parliament; and for the sake of coalition harmony it resigned its seats of East London City and Germiston to the Labour Party. One of its seats, Carolina, in the Western Transvaal, was suppressed by the Delimitation Commission.

4. Dr. Malan achieved one of his objects in the election by the elimination of all the rival anti-war groups which had refused to acknowledge his leadership; but he suffered a disastrous defeat by his failure to gain any significant accession of strength in Parliament. While the total anti-war forces in Parliament declined catastrophically, the Nationalist Party made, on balance, an exiguous gain of two seats. Four of its seats had been suppressed by the re-delimitation, and it lost seven to the United Party and one to the Labour Party. It gained, however, two from the United Party, five from both the New Order and Afrikaner parties, the new seat of Westdene in Johannesburg, and Marico, which at the dissolution of Parliament was held by the Rev. C. W. M. du Toit, an anti-war independent.

The Western Cape.

5. These developments merit closer analysis. The reconquest by the United Party of the important Western Province towns of Paarl and Worcester is everywhere regarded as a most significant portent. With Stellenbosch (which the Nationalists retained by the slender margin of 344 votes) they are the cultural centres of Afrikanerdom. Here, as at Malmesbury, in the Western Province wheat belt, which the United Party also won, the Government forces were undoubtedly greatly helped by the wartime prosperity of the wine and wheat farmers. A still more decisive consideration, however, and one to which the Nationalists are now devoting much attention, was the virtual unanimity with which the coloured people of the Cape rallied to the support of the United Party. This was all the more remarkable in view of the violent agitation which they had carried on against the appointment by Mr. Lawrence, of the Cape Coloured Advisory Council—a move which they had interpreted as a further step along the road towards their political and economic "segregation." Faced, however, with the choice between the liberal protestations (and illiberal record) of the United Party, and the open enmity of the Nationalists, they had perhaps no alternative but to throw their weight behind the Government candidates. Even in the Peninsula constituencies of Salt River, Woodstock and the Cape Flats, where they had the choice of Communist candidates, the greater part of their votes went to the United Party and gave majorities

* Not reproduced.

to Mr. Lawrence and his two United Party colleagues which far exceeded the most hopeful calculations of the winning candidates themselves. Long-range political calculations were undoubtedly largely responsible for the coloured people's attitude; at the same time it would be unwise to ignore the influence exerted by the unprecedented prosperity of thousands of families of coloured soldiers, whose pay and separation allowances greatly exceed the average of their pre-war incomes.

Nationalists and the Coloured Vote.

6. *Die Burger*, the Nationalist organ in Cape Town, has not been slow to point out that the United Party owes its seats at Paarl, Worcester, Malmesbury and Prieska (which it won from the Nationalists) and Hottentots-Holland (which it retained) directly to the coloured vote; and that in four others it would have had, without the coloured vote, only the most slender of majorities. It emphasises that 31 of the 56 Cape Province seats have more than 400 coloured voters each and suggests that the proportion they constitute of the whole electorate is steadily rising. It declares the coloured vote to be a specific problem of the Nationalist Party; but it cautiously stops short of suggestions for a remedy. The Nationalist Party will, without doubt, if and when it comes to power, exert itself to secure the abolition of the coloured vote or its relegation to a separate communal roll, as part of a general policy of segregation. There are indications, on the other hand, that the Cape coloured people will place in the forefront of their struggle a demand for the extension of the vote to coloured women on the same terms as those accorded to white women. Such a concession would clearly be of advantage to the United Party, whose decision will have to be taken, however, with an eye (apart from the principle involved) on the possible repercussions of such a step in the reactionary, colour-conscious northern Provinces.

7. It could have been expected that the ignominious defeat of the three Communist candidates in the Cape Peninsula would lay the Communist bogy which Opposition propagandists had so assiduously conjured into existence. *Die Burger*, however, is not ready to let it go without a struggle. It seeks to prove that in the three Peninsula divisions contested by the Communist Party, from just over a half (in Cape Flats) to four-fifths (in Woodstock) of the coloured voters supported the Communists; and asks in direful tones what will happen in the post-war economic depression if at a time of prosperity and full employment, and at its first appearance at the polls, the Communist Party should receive such significant support from coloured voters.

Nationalist Tide Recedes.

8. The United Party, as in the election of 1938, made a clean sweep of the thirteen seats in the Cape Peninsula and by its victories at Malmesbury, Paarl and Worcester, pushed back the Nationalist tide which in 1938 had lapped up to the very outskirts of the Government's urban bastion in the Peninsula. With the exception of Stellenbosch, where the Nationalists had an exceptionally good candidate in Dr. Bremer, a well-known Cape Town medical man and contender for the succession to Dr. Malan, the United Party established itself in the first ring of country constituencies where the English-speaking inhabitants of the Peninsula give way to the predominantly Afrikaans-speaking areas of the Western Cape. In the second ring, they held Caledon, just beyond the mountains, and missed capturing Ceres by a mere 84 votes. But at Moorreesburg and in the area stretching eastwards along the coast to the outlying districts of Port Elizabeth the Nationalists were well entrenched; and they retained all their seats here by safe majorities. The United Party made, however, a significant advance into the Nationalist stronghold of the Karoo by the conquest of Victoria West and surprised everyone by winning Prieska, a widespread constituency in the arid north-west Cape, where, however, they were greatly helped by the coloured vote.

9. In the Eastern Cape, an area as safe for the Government as Natal itself, there were no changes, except in the City division of East London, where as a price of electoral agreement the United Party had resigned its tenure in favour of the Labour Party. The justification for this concession was the striking victory which the Labour Party had won in the East London municipal elections last year; but the handing over of the seat to Labour was received with great ill-humour by the " conservative-imperialist " section of the townspeople who revolted against General Smuts' injunction against independent candidates and backed a candidate who had in the past been a supporter of the Dominion Party. He was, however, soundly beaten by the official Labour representative, who is also the mayor of the city. The *East London Dispatch*, in its comment on the results, could not forbear to express the hope that General Smuts would " at least put a sharp brake on the activities and aspirations of the Minister of Labour." The other East London division returned the only member of the Dominion Party to be elected outside the confines of Natal.

The Transvaal.

10. In the Transvaal the elections were complicated by the intervention of 10 candidates of the Afrikaner Party and of 11 " People's Unity " candidates, backed jointly by the Afrikaner Party and the Ossewa Brandwag. The nomination of all these candidates was designed as a gesture of protest against Dr. Malan's contemptuous treatment of the minor Opposition groups and his refusal to enter into an election agreement with them. None had the faintest chance of election, but they were all inspired by a vindictive desire to fight the Nationalists even at the cost of letting in Government candidates. At Waterberg and Wolmaransstad they made considerable efforts to secure the defeat of the Nationalist provincial leaders, Mr. Strydom and General Kemp: in the latter constituency their representative was Mr. Jerling, a leading " General " of the Ossewa Brandwag, who had " resigned " his office in order to stand as a " National Republican " candidate. In neither did they poll more than a handful of votes. In only two constituencies did these groups poll sufficient votes to cause the defeat of the Nationalist candidates; and in one of them, Heidelberg, this result was achieved despite the withdrawal after nomination day of the Afrikaner Party candidate as a gesture to Afrikaner unity. His name had nevertheless to appear on the ballot paper and

he received 79 votes. The United Party candidate won by 57. In the other, Pretoria District, the former Afrikaner Party holder of the seat, Mr. Harm Oost, came at the bottom of the poll with 500 votes. The Nationalist was beaten by 486.

11. The only seat in the Transvaal gained by the United Party from the Nationalists was Ventersdorp, in the rich maize-producing western districts. Here, Colonel Jakob Wilkens, a man of picturesque and attractive character who had fought for the Boers in the South African War and as a leading officer under General Smuts in the South-West African campaign of 1915, was defeated by the narrow margin of 119 votes. For the United Party it was a notable victory, made possible, in part at least, by the great prosperity which wartime conditions have brought to maize farmers as to other agricultural producers. Apart from two gains at the expense of the Afrikaner Party, the United Party made its chief gains in the Transvaal among seats formerly held by the New Order group. It won back Losberg, in the south-east, where General Botha had found a political refuge after his defeat at Pretoria in the elections for the first Union Parliament in 1910. Perhaps its most significant victory of all was at Lydenburg, in the eastern lowveld, where a constituency with hardly an English-speaking voter returned a pro-war candidate by a majority of nearly a thousand votes.

The Witwatersrand.

12. Of the 64 seats in the Transvaal half lie in Johannesburg and along the Witwatersrand. As the largest homogeneous block in the country this is a factor of the most vital significance in any election. The Nationalists themselves before the election admitted that " who rules the Rand rules South Africa." Encouraged by the increasing shift of Afrikaners from the platteland to the Witwatersrand and the fact that the vast majority of European mineworkers are now Afrikaans-speaking, the Nationalists nominated candidates in no fewer than 23 of these constituencies: in only one—the new division of Westdene—were they successful. This includes within its boundaries the dreadful Johannesburg slum of Vrededorp, where are congregated hundreds of Afrikaner immigrants from the platteland who have failed to adapt themselves to the conditions of urban life. Mr. B. J. Schoeman, one of the ablest of the younger Nationalists in the last Parliament, and the only one with understanding of the problems of industrial labour, was defeated in Johannesburg West; and the seat he formerly held at Fordsburg—the only Witwatersrand division in the hands of the Nationalist Party after 1938—was won by Mr. Duncan Burnside for the Labour Party. The failure of the Nationalist Party on the Witwatersrand was paralleled by its lack of success in Pretoria. Here, out of eight seats, it won only two, in districts with large poor white populations, on the outer fringe.

Orange Free State.

13. Only in the Orange Free State did the Nationalist Party score any solid triumph. Here they won 13 of the 14 seats in the province by decisive majorities, being defeated by an equally decisive majority in Dr. Colin Steyn's stronghold of Bloemfontein City. The 13 Afrikaner Party candidates in these constituencies all came at the bottom of the poll: their leader, Mr. Havenga, was decisively rejected at Frankfort. In no constituency did they come near to letting in a United Party representative by means of a split anti-war vote; and they lost to the Nationalists the four seats they had formerly held in the province.

Natal.

14. In Natal the election fight was complicated by rivalries within the ranks of the Government coalition itself. The Dominion and Labour Parties had each entered into election agreements with the United Party; but as between themselves they were free to carry on the fight to the most bitter extremes, unhampered by any significant threat from the anti-war forces. At Pietermaritzburg District the leader of the Dominion Party, Colonel Stallard, was challenged by a young and energetic Labour candidate; and the Labour Party also contested the Dominion Party's tenure of Durban Central. The advent, however, of a Nationalist candidate in the Umlazi division of Durban was enough to persuade the pro-Government forces to close their ranks against the external threat and Labour withdrew its opposition to the Dominionite holder of the seat. The Dominion Party, for its part, nominated a candidate in the Labour constituency of Umbilo. These elections were fought with a great deal of bitterness, and each side cast all sense of personal dignity aside in its frantic efforts to associate itself in the public mind with General Smuts. The Durban newspapers bore large advertisements, with photographs of the Prime Minister prominently placed beside photographs of the respective candidates. Members of the Dominion and Labour parties who only a few years before had gone to almost incredible lengths in their attacks on General Smuts, now scrambled with indecent eagerness to vow their devotion to his person and the war policy that he directs. The upshot, however, of all this, was in the laconic words of the election announcements: No Change. Each of the disputed constituencies remained true to its party allegiance and Colonel Stallard surmounted the unpopularity of his party to retain his seat by a surprisingly large majority.

Decline of Dominion Party.

15. In the Berea division of Durban, however, the Dominion Party lost its seat by many thousands of votes to an independent candidate, Mr. Sullivan, an economist on the staff of the Natal Technical College, who had attained great popularity as the leader of the Social Security movement. In his attacks on the Dominion Party as the instrument of the more reactionary commercial interests in Durban he did much to undermine still further the popular basis of the party. That Dominion Party constituencies remained firm against Labour attack may certainly be ascribed more to the conservatism of Natal and dislike of the Labour Party than to continued enthusiasm for the policy and methods of Colonel Stallard and his friends. It was significant that Dr. Shearer, who had won the Point division of Durban for the Dominion Party in 1938 and had later joined the United Party, retained the seat as an independent by a large majority against

Dominion Party attack: it was known that he had been forced to resign from the United Party in order to absolve the latter of the charge of breaking the electoral agreement. He made no secret of his intention to apply for re-admission to the United Party and this he has since done. Even after making allowances for the poor quality of the Dominion Party candidate and the advantages which Dr. Shearer enjoyed as the sitting member, it is clear that the result of the election in this constituency was in effect a defeat of the Dominion Party by the United Party. What would have happened if party alignments had been similar to those of 1938, with the Dominion Party not only deprived of General Smuts' active support but actually faced with his potent opposition, it is of course impossible to say: most observers agree that the Dominion Party would have been fortunate to win two seats in Natal and that Colonel Stallard would certainly not have retained Pietermaritzburg (a traditionally United Party seat which he won at a by-election in September, 1939, through the withdrawal of the United Party candidate in his favour.)

16. Apart from the two Natal independents (one of whom was, as I have said, in reality a member of the United Party) the independent candidates, and the representatives of the so-called "splinter" groups on the Opposition side, were all heavily defeated. The three candidates of the Independent Labour Party on the Witwatersrand received not more than a handful of votes and were no embarrassment to the official Labour candidates who won their seats. Seven of the nine Communist candidates forfeited their deposits, having failed to obtain one-fifth of the votes cast for the winning candidates: their failure dealt a powerful blow to the myth of the Communist "menace."

Elimination of Afrikaner Party.

17. On the Opposition side the most significant development is, of course, the elimination of the Afrikaner Party. Mr. Havenga's future is unpromising and obscure. He has explained his defeat as a rejection of the Hertzog ideal of equal co-operation between the two sections of the white population but this reading of the result has been contested on three sides. United Party spokesmen claim that the great victory won by the United Party as a result of the support it received from a large body of Afrikaner voters has dealt a "deathblow to racialism"; and that this party is the embodiment of the ideal of co-operation between the white races. *Die Volksblad*, for its part, declares that the Nationalist principles of General Hertzog are now represented by the present Nationalist Party; and that General Hertzog had striven to obtain for his people the rights which the English-speaking people had always possessed. "This was the kind of equality he sought and it is the kind of equality for which the Nationalist Party will always strive." The paper proceeds to deliver significant warning to Afrikaners. "We must cease," it says, "to fight amongst ourselves over the rights of the English. That is not, and never can be, an issue in our country. To take away a man's rights is something so un-Afrikaans and so repugnant to the character of the Afrikaner, that any Afrikaner who tries to make this an issue is insulting our people." Clearly, the Nationalist Party has moved far in the eighteen months since its intellectuals were toying with Nazi ideas of an Afrikaner Herrenvolk in South Africa: this election has certainly done much to stimulate the process of their re-education. More piquant was the protest of the leader of the insignificant Greyshirt movement, who reminded Mr. Havenga that in the years before his death General Hertzog had declared that only in National Socialism would South Africa find its salvation and that the Greyshirt movement has as much right as any group to consider itself the upholder of "Hertzogism."

The Ossewa Brandwag.

18. While a larger proportion of the Ossewa Brandwag voted for the Nationalist Party than most people had expected, it is clear from the marked decline in the percentage poll in the country districts compared with the 1938 election that many thousands of voters abstained from the poll: of these the great majority were certainly members of the Ossewa Brandwag. Indeed, Mr. Eric Louw has since the election expressed the most bitter criticism of the hundreds of Afrikaners in his constituency alone who took their revenge on the Nationalist Party by "sulking at home." There is a certain paradox in the fact that while the Ossewa Brandwag has been steadily declining as German hopes of victory receded, the decisive defeat which the Nationalist Party has suffered in the war may well create circumstances favourable to a revival in the fortunes of Dr. van Rensburg and his followers. The Ossewa Brandwag is now taking the line that the elections have shown the futility of trying to achieve the triumph of Afrikanerdom by Parliamentary means. In a speech at Bethlehem on the 7th August Dr. van Rensburg emphasised that "anti-war forces have been definitely and unmistakably weakened by this election." The Nationalist Party had on balance gained two seats, he said, but these had been taken not from General Smuts but from fellow-republicans, while General Smuts had captured the vast majority of those that remained. The whole party-system was in process of disruption: even on the Government side it was only the war and the personality of General Smuts that was keeping the pro-war forces together. World revolution was on the way, no matter how the war ended. Capitalism was giving place to socialism and of all the nationalist movements in this country the Ossewa Brandwag was the only one which was sufficiently revolutionary and radical in its outlook to build a bridge for the Afrikaner people in the period of transition.

19. Dr. van Rensburg made a most significant bid for the support of the workers. The Government would probably now at last take steps, he said, to suppress the danger of Communist agitation among the non-Europeans. In so doing it would have the support of the Ossewa Brandwag; but if, on the other hand, "the capitalist elements which support the Government try to act against the white worker under cover of anti-Communist measures, then the Ossewa Brandwag throughout the country will stand shoulder to shoulder with the Afrikaner worker; for we are anti-Comintern because we are nationalists and our nationalism is definitely orientated towards socialism." This development in Ossewa Brandwag doctrine may clearly not be without effect. Dr. Malan has succeeded in establishing his party as the sole representative in Parliament of Afrikaner nationalism; but of what avail will this be to him if the ineffectiveness of the Parliamentary Opposition combines with the probable economic upheavals of the post-war years to drive a large body of Afrikaners into a radical, extra-Parliamentary organization?

Leaders Re-Elected.

20. The election was remarkable for the negligible effect it has had on the front benches of Parliament. All the Cabinet were returned, most of them by large majorities (General Smuts, however, had a majority of less than 1,000 in a difficult platteland seat). Similarly, every one of the Nationalist leaders got back, though some of them were subjected during the election campaign to the embarrassing opposition of the rival anti-war groups. The most notable losses on each side were suffered before the campaign began. Thus the United Party lost in Mr. Blackwell, K.C., as a result of his elevation to the Transvaal Bench, a useful debater; and in Mr. Long, by his failure to obtain re-nomination for the Gardens division of Cape Town, a member who was well qualified to answer the subtleties of the Opposition on questions of constitutional law. On the Nationalist side, Mr. Fagan, a former Minister of Native Affairs and a member widely respected for his moderation and sincerity, was in the closing days of the last Parliament appointed a judge of the Cape Division of the Supreme Court. The defeat of Dr. Jansen in Natal was not so much a loss for the Nationalist Party (with whom he had only formally allied himself) as an almost irreplaceable loss to Parliament itself. As the ablest and most respected Speaker since the establishment of the Union he had won the gratitude of both sides of the House for the impartial and dignified manner in which he had presided at its debates. There are many even on the Government side who feel that the United Party made a regrettable mistake in forcing him to declare his attitude on the war issue and to defend his seat at Vryheid as a member of the Nationalist Party.

New Members.

21. From the point of view of the future of Parliamentary government in the Union it is a disturbing fact that the great increase in the United Party representation has brought hardly one new recruit of first-rate ability and promise to Parliament. There are two energetic younger members in Mr. Waring, who was elected without opposition for a Johannesburg constituency, and Mr. Hamilton Russell, an Oxford Rugby "Blue" and Cape Town advertising contractor, who beat a redoubtable Communist opponent at Woodstock; but neither is of the calibre even of Mr. Leif Egeland, one of the most notable political disappointments of recent years, who chose to join the Sixth South African Division in the Middle East rather than stand for re-election. The only important addition to the United Party, indeed, is Mr. Robin Stratford, K.C., a son of a former Chief Justice of the Union and a barrister who was notably successful at the Johannesburg Bar. He has succeeded Mrs. Reitz in the Parktown Division of Johannesburg. Mr. Stratford did well in the post of wartime Controller of Rubber, and he has now been appointed chairman of the commission which the Government has just set up to inquire into the distribution of household commodities. With experience in Parliament he may qualify for Cabinet rank. Of no other private member of the United Party can this be said with confidence. The election has also brought back to Parliament an experienced and opportunist politician in Mr. Arthur Barlow, who, as a member of Colonel Creswell's Labour Party, did much to engineer the formation of the "pact" between Labour and Nationalists in 1924. He later joined Mr. Tielman Roos in the latter's devastating descent into the political arena during the gold-standard crisis of 1931, and is now a member of the United Party and editor of the left-wing weekly newspaper which is published under his name. He has already made it clear that he will not be tied too closely by decisions of the party caucus and he may be a source of much embarrassment to the Government leaders, especially if he succeeds in his attempt to form a "ginger group" within the United Party.

22. On the Nationalist side the only additions of interest are Mr. H. J. Klopper, a fanatical and independent politician who achieved celebrity as leader of the commemorative "Great Trek" of 1938; and Dr. A. J. Stals, a former chairman of the Board of Trade, who was a Member of Parliament in the time of the first Nationalist Government.

Government Leaders on the Result.

23. In a message on "the most spectacular victory in the history of the Union" General Smuts said that the Parliamentary mandate of 1939 had been overwhelmingly endorsed by the people and he expressed the hope that the minority would now accept this decision and "cease from further brawling and opposing the war policy." The new mandate included both the war and the post-war periods and the Government would pursue the policy of raising the social and economic standards of all classes. In an encouraging reference to the relationship between the two sections of the white population, he said: "The people are turning away from the barren squabbles and divisions, mostly of a racial and historical character, which have their roots in an unhappy past. They are moving towards a national union which will reconcile and unite our diverse racial stocks. . . . . With this goes the deeper moral issue which has profoundly moved our people in this world crisis. The outlook and practice of Nazi racialism with which the Opposition coquetted during the period of German victories are abhorent to our people. . . . . As the fortunes of war have turned against Germany, the Nationalists have tried to dissociate themselves from this Nazi taint but without much success. South African patriotism has recoiled from this infamy." The Government would carry out the fixed determination of the country to prosecute the war to the end until unconditional surrender was forced on the enemy.

24. Mr. Hofmeyr also gave expression to hopeful expectations. The racial issue had been killed at last, he said. More than 40 per cent. of Afrikaans-speaking voters had voted for the war. The Nationalists had had their best chance to divide the people on racial lines and they had failed. "Never have the people of South Africa been so anxious to get away from the racial issue to social and economic issues as they are to-day. Never has there been such a determination to build up a better South Africa. . . . Moreover, we are beginning to realize that we cannot build up a great and prosperous South Africa unless we make it possible for all sections of the people, European and non-European to make such contributions as they are able to make for the benefit of the people as a whole. That is a big advance."

25. General Smuts, in a speech at Port Elizabeth the day after the result was announced, also made a reference to the position of the native people in the Union. " The question of native Africans weighs heavily with me," he said. " I do not think we shall succeed in our efforts for the future of South Africa until we have come to grips with that question and I do not think we shall succeed as a united European South Africa unless we can justify our consciences in our relations between black and white. *But I think the first step for us is to unite our European people.*"

26. This statement, and especially the last sentence, has given rise to some disquiet in the minds of South Africans concerned with the welfare of the native people. This has been well expressed by a correspondent of the *Cape Times*, who, in a cogently-worded letter, remarked that " of the supreme importance of the Prime Minister's call for European unity there can be no question; but," he continued, " it is impossible in view of the past not to ask to what ends that national union will be directed in relation to non-European South Africa. Is there no danger that European union in South Africa may be precisely the same in outlook as has been the call for German union in Europe? "

Dr. Malan's Disappointment.

27. Dr. Malan for his part could not forbear from expressing his disappointment at the result of the election. He sought, however, to console his followers by pointing out that " apart from unsatisfactory delimitation, the tinkering with the registration and electoral laws, and the increase of the non-European vote with the deliberate purpose of smothering the white vote, we had to contend with a khaki-election, with a block of voters who would originally have voted for neutrality but now want to see the war through simply because we are in it, and most important of all, with those thousands of voters who were making money out of the war." Disillusionment, however, would come; it had come after the last war and it would come again. The " imperialist-capitalist " victory was a temporary one. Moreover, the " humiliating spectacle " of three separate nationalist-minded groups on the Opposition benches had been ended. " The Opposition is now again one consolidated whole. May it be the forerunner of the consolidated Afrikanerdom and consequently of the victory that is on the way."

The Cabinet and the Country.

28. It was clear from the beginning that the great pro-Government majority represented a victory, not for the Cabinet as a whole, but for the war policy and for General Smuts personally. Indeed, even if in the atmosphere of general self-congratulation Ministers had been able to overlook this evident fact it was not long before they were sharply reminded of their unpopularity in the country. Within a day or so of the announcement of the result, an anonymous correspondent of the *Rand Daily Mail* raised a still small voice to remind them that the election result was not necessarily " an endorsement of the ineffectual rule of our Government. We had no alternative but to vote for the coincident United Party and war policy . . . . We, poor sheep, voted for the war or against it. And when the war is over we will swing to the left in search of a commonsense policy that will plan effectively for all, without vacillation. So do not rely too much on the seemingly great election victory. It is a structure with a poor foundation of frustrated hopes, and the true voice of the people will yet be heard." Within ten days the destruction of oranges on a vast scale and evidences of the most timorous and muddled handling of the food shortage in many of the larger towns led to an outburst of remarkable violence in the Government Press. The resignation of the Minister of Agriculture and Food Controller, Colonel Collins, was strongly demanded and an agitation was set on foot for a radical reconstruction of the Cabinet. This General Smuts has firmly resisted: he is determined not to part with colleagues of long standing and acquiescent temperament; and even if he wished for changes he would be hard put to it to discover in the ranks of the United Party the " men of imagination, courage, good-will and ability " whose appointment to the Cabinet an impatient country is demanding. The most he has been willing to concede is a certain re-grouping of portfolios in the Cabinet and the refurbishing of old Ministries with impressive new titles. Well furnished as he is with supplies by the last Parliament, the Prime Minister is under no compulsion to summon a meeting of the new House until the usual time in January; and, indeed, he has now stated that he has no intention of summoning it earlier.

29. So long a delay in convening a meeting of a newly-elected Parliament is unprecedented in the Union and, almost certainly, in the United Kingdom and other countries of the British Commonwealth. It has emphasized with an almost embarrassing clarity the diminution of Parliament's place in the government of the country. At the same time, the difficulties of holding more than one session a year in a country where the legislative capital is separated by a thousand miles from the headquarters of administration are well known. By urging these as a defence of their neglect to summon Parliament the Government may well convince the country now, but the denial of an opportunity to " blow off steam " clearly has its dangers. If present discontents continue for the intervening months, the meeting of Parliament next January may well see the unwieldy United Party majority as well as other Parties in a mood of troublesome irritation. It is, no doubt, with a consciousness of this danger in mind that General Smuts has summoned a meeting in Pretoria of his own party caucus for the end of this month. Whether this will be an effective substitute for an early session of Parliament remains to be seen.

30. The Parliamentary elections are over; but the elections for the four Provincial Councils, which will take place on the 13th October, are now looming into prospect. There is every indication that, with the war issue now finally decided, the United and Nationalist Parties will choose the question of single or dual medium education in the schools as their battleground. The former is bringing up all its forces for an assault on the present system of instruction through the home language only; the latter is rallying with equal enthusiasm to the defence of the system as the most effective means of maintaining the racial division in South African politics. But this is a subject worthy of a report to itself.

31. For the purposes of convenience I summarize, in conclusion, the chief points of significance in this analysis. General Smuts brought the Union into the war with a Parliamentary majority of 13; at the time of the dissolution of Parliament (on the 31st May, 1943) this majority had grown to 21; it is now no less than 67. The elections have produced a striking victory for General Smuts personally and the war policy that he represents, the United Party alone having now a majority of 25 over all comers. But the country voted for the Smuts " ticket "; they did not vote for the United Party as such and the members of the Cabinet other than the Prime Minister remain as unpopular as ever. Pro-Government opinion, released at last from the inhibitions imposed by fear of Opposition strength, is outspokenly critical of the Government's handling of food problems and is resentful over the Prime Minister's retention of Colonel Collins at the Ministry of Agriculture and his refusal to bring in new members. By the time Parliament meets next January the Government may well find itself faced with a serious and embarrassing revolt among members of the United Party itself; and it is certain to encounter trouble from an opportunist Labour Party, which will do its best to exploit the general demand for more radical policies. The Nationalist Party has suffered a most decisive defeat on the war issue and has made virtually no progress in its Parliamentary representation. At the same time, the elimination of its rivals on the opposition side has removed an embarrassing situation; and Dr. Malan will now be able to speak as the sole leader of Afrikanerdom in Parliament. He will continue his overtures to the English-speaking people and try to convince them that their rights will not be threatened by the establishment of a republic. He may even, as in 1924, relegate the republican ideal to an obscure place in his programme; and for the rest will base his hopes on the reaction which usually overtakes war governments in the difficult days of peace.

32. I am sending copies of this despatch to the High Commissioners for the United Kingdom in Ottawa, Canberra and Wellington.

I have, &c.,

C. G. L. SYERS,

Acting High Commissioner.

G. 581/25. No. 10.

TELEGRAM

from

HIGH COMMISSIONER IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA FOR HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

(Received 5.25 p.m., 5th November, 1943.)

No. 1426. 5th November. Final results of the Provincial Council elections held on 13th October have now been announced. New state of the parties in the four Provincial Councils is as follows (party totals at dissolution in brackets):

Cape: United Party 34 (29); Labour Party 2 (nil); Dominion Party 1 (2); Nationalist Party 18 (24); Independents 1 (6). Total seats 56 (61).

Transvaal: United Party 43 (31); Labour Party 12 (8); Dominion Party nil (1); Nationalist Party 9 (12); Independents nil (4); Afrikaner Party nil (1). Total seats 64 (57).

Natal: United Party 16 (17); Labour Party 3 (3); Dominion Party 3 (5); Nationalist Party nil (nil); Independents 3 (nil). Total seats 25 (25).

Orange Free State: United Party 4 (3); Nationalist Party 21 (13); Afrikaner Party nil (8); Independents nil (1). Total seats 25 (25).

Party totals (excluding Independents) for the 4 Provinces are thus:

Government Coalition: United Party 97 (80); Labour Party 17 (11); Dominion Party 4 (8). Total 118 (99).

Opposition: Nationalist Party 48 (49); Afrikaner Party nil (9). Total 48 (58).

Afrikaner Party took no part in the election. All four Independents can be counted as generally pro-Smuts.

Principal features of interest in these results are:—

1. Provincial elections have fully confirmed the verdict of the Parliamentary General Election held in July. The factors of Smuts' great personal prestige and the favourable courses of the war, which were then decisive, are still operative.

2. United Party held important country constituencies which it won from the Nationalists at the Parliamentary election (my telegram No. 1004* paragraph 2) and, in addition, scored notable victory at Ceres in Western Cape. In the Transvaal it has won Pietersburg, which it just failed to win in the Parliamentary election.

3. In the Orange Free State, where there are more provincial than Parliamentary divisions, United Party won the three seats in Bloemfontein, which more or less coincides with the Parliamentary divisions held by Colin Steyn, Minister of Justice, and in addition it won Kroonstad by narrow majority.

4. The decline of the Dominion Party, already apparent at the Parliamentary election, received a further stimulus. It lost its two East London seats, and two of its Durban seats to the Labour Party and one of its Durban seats to an Independent Candidate. As the result of the election, the Dominion Party has probably lost its representation on the Executive Committee of the Natal

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* G. 581/25: not printed.

Provincial Council, since its seat will almost certainly be given to the Labour Party. Labour Party lost two seats to the Independent Labour Candidate: but its total poll in Durban has shown striking increase. Labour Party also captured the only Dominion Party Seat on the Rand.

5. Nationalist Party has won the only one urban constituency in the whole Union. It retained Westdene, poverty stricken area of Johannesburg, populated by Afrikaner immigrants from the Platteland which it had won in the Parliamentary Election.

6. Nationalist Party will no longer be represented on the Executive Committee in the Transvaal; and in the Cape its representation on the Executive Committee will be halved as a result of the drop in its membership of the council.

7. United Party will have absolute control of all the Provincial Councils, except in the Orange Free State where the Nationalists will have overwhelming majority.

8. Outside the Orange Free State, voters were not alarmed by the announcement of the United Party's intention to introduce instruction through both English and Afrikaans in the State schools, and the Nationalist Party achieved negligible success in its campaign to persuade the Afrikaans-speaking section to rally to the defence of the Afrikaans single medium as the bulwark of Afrikaner Isolationism in culture and politics.

Z. 507/3.

No. 11.

DESPATCH

from

HIGH COMMISSIONER IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA FOR HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

(Received 21st December, 1943.)

(South Africa.)
(No. 354, Confidential.)

My Lord, Pretoria, 3rd December, 1943.

In my despatch No. 144 of the 16th April*, I described at some length the agitation which was being conducted by the Opposition against the so-called Communist "menace" in the Union; the Government's reply to the charges levelled by Nationalist speakers; and the methods and objectives of the Communist Party organization in this country. I concluded with an expression of my own opinion as to the extent and significance of Communist activity. Since that despatch was written a general election has taken place in which, for the first time in the history of the Union, the Communist Party put forward candidates of its own. The result of its intervention was the most concrete evidence that had yet been afforded of the relative insignificance of this movement in the political and economic affairs of South Africa. In his despatches Nos. 214† and 257‡ on the general election the Acting High Commissioner reported the principal features of interest in the Communist Party's share in the elections. For the sake of maintaining a proper perspective, the references to this topic were necessarily perfunctory; and you may be interested in a more detailed analysis, with the lens brought closer and focused on this small section of the field. Moreover, since my earlier despatch new details have come to light; while in no way modifying the general conclusions I then expressed, these are in themselves significant of the methods and aims of the Communist Party and should therefore be reported.

2. Of the nine candidates sponsored by the Communist Party, three stood for Cape Peninsula seats, namely the industrial constituencies of Salt River and Woodstock in both of which there is a large Cape Coloured element; and the mainly Cape Coloured division of the Cape Flats (see my despatch No. 271 of the 9th September§); one at East London; one at Durban; three in Johannesburg and one at Springs on the Witwatersrand. Between them they polled 6,806 votes out of total polls in their constituencies of 62,601. They were all heavily defeated; indeed, they all came at the bottom of the poll, except at East London, where an insignificant independent fared even worse than the Communist. Seven of them, having failed to secure one-fifth of the number of votes cast for the successful candidates, suffered the final indignity of forfeiting their deposits. The four Communist candidates on the Rand obtained votes ranging from 741 to 292, out of total polls of about 7,000. At Durban Point the Communist received 564 votes. Only in the Cape Peninsula seats did the Communist Party succeed in obtaining more than an exiguous number of votes.

Coloured People and Segregation.

3. At Salt River, where much public interest was centred on the struggle between the then Minister of the Interior, Mr. Lawrence, and Dr. George Sacks, there was a moment in the earlier stages of the campaign when Mr. Lawrence himself was pessimistic about his chances. By a curious error of political judgment Mr. Lawrence, shortly before the election, had announced the creation within his department of a special section to deal with the affairs of the Cape Coloured people, as well as the appointment of a Cape Coloured Advisory Council. These actions were inevitably interpreted by the coloured people themselves as yet another step in the dreaded process of social and economic "segregation"; and the agitation which then began soon took as its main object the defeat of the Government candidates at the Parliamentary elections. The Salt River constituency had 1,720 coloured voters and it was generally expected that their support would go almost *en bloc* to the Communist Party, the main plank of whose platform has always been the abolition of discrimination based on race and colour. The result, however, belied these expectations. Dr. Sacks received only 851 votes, as against 5,071 for Mr. Lawrence and 1,474 for an independent (Nationalist) candidate.

* No. 6. † No. 8. ‡ No. 9. § No. 14.

4. In the industrial constituency of Woodstock (with the worst slums in Cape Town within its borders) a young and untried United Party candidate had a straight fight with the Communist, Mr. Snitcher, a Jewish barrister of much ability and forcefulness, and leader of the party in the Cape. This constituency had as many as 3,056 Coloured voters; but the United Party nevertheless won by the large majority of 5,392 to 1,818. In the poverty-stricken semi-rural area of the Cape Flats, with a coloured electorate of 2,952, a Communist candidate of Afrikaner descent, Miss Joey Fourie, received only 1,165 votes and was beaten by the United Party candidate (with 4,559 votes) and by an independent candidate (with 1,174).

5. There is no doubt that the poor showing which Dr. Sacks, the best known Marxist leader, made in the final result caused general surprise. He is one of the best-known surgeons in Cape Town and has done much unpaid work for the poorer people of the city, and especially for the coloured people. His wife, formerly Miss Betty Radford, a daughter of an English rector, edits the Communist weekly Guardian, which he founded. He is the intellectual leader of the Communists in the Union and a few years ago went on a long visit to Russia. His speeches throughout the election campaign were attended by large audiences; and he spoke with persuasiveness and sincerity. In a most revealing article in the left-wing weekly, *Trek*, he analyzed the factors responsible for his defeat. The Prime Minister, he said, was the "magic talisman." "Vote for Smuts" was the cry in every constituency. He tells how he tried "gently to remind one woman in my constituency, who carried a picture of the Field-Marshal round her neck like an ikon and bellowed 'Vote for Smuts,' that General Smuts was not contesting the Salt River seat." . . . The fact remains that the Prime Minister carried his party to victory on his own shoulders. Nobody could lure votes from a coupon nominee. Only the hard core of Nationalist voters remained solid. And yet, he continues, "look at the real picture; here was a government appealing for a further tenure of power—a capitalist government so incompetent that it had failed to do what other capitalist governments are forced to do in wartime—limit the stupidity and inefficiency of 'private enterprise' . . . . In mining and agriculture it has been business as usual, which in agriculture has meant a preoccupation with high prices and scarcity rather than with increased production. The root problem in South Africa is to establish a literate, effective-consumer population in the teeth of opposition from the Chamber of Mines and feudal farmers whose present existence depends upon an illiterate, half-starved reservoir of cheap labour. A government intent on serving the interests of the country would have developed some show of a spinal column in dealing with the obstructionists. There had not been a vestige of evidence that the previous Cabinet was prepared to face up to the economic Bourbons."

Communists and the Colour Bar.

6. Dr. Sacks explained that the Communist candidates, both in the North and in the Cape, had stressed the need to do away with the industrial colour bar, which kept hundreds of thousands of potential skilled workers from production and from adding to the real wealth of the country. They had asked that the "tenuous basis" of democracy be strengthened by doing away with repressive pass laws and other restrictions. They had called for a plan of compulsory education for all children; and they had asked for agricultural expansion and for rationing as a wartime measure. The nine candidates, Dr. Sacks said, were fairly representative. There were six trade unionists and three professional middle class nominees. Four of them were Afrikaans-speaking (one of them a grandson of the former President Boshoff of the Orange Free State), three Jews and two English-speaking South Africans. "Uniquely, the party paid all election expenses, thus making it possible for working class representatives to stand."

7. A great many morals, Dr. Sacks continued, could be drawn from the Communist defeat. Voters as a whole did not understand the Communist attitude towards race relationships in South Africa. The tedious "would you like your daughter to marry a native?" was prominent in all constituencies. At Woodstock a coloured man rejected the advice of a friend to vote Communist, saying: "They want us to marry natives." The coloured vote, which the United Party had feared would swing to the Communists, in the end went to the Government candidates. For this, the "inept handling" of the advisory Council issue was mainly responsible. Mr. Lawrence in introducing the measure, had had no definite segregationist motive. "Clearly what he had in mind was the necessity of some overture to the coloured people, whose votes were needed. The leaders of the agitation failed to make the obvious criticism that the Council was merely a clumsy vote-catching manœuvre to gloss over the Government's neglect of the fundamental needs of the coloured people (compulsory education, employment as skilled workers, good housing, etc.). Instead, emphasis was laid on the segregationist character of the Council. Government speakers had merely to get weighty testimonials from Mr. Hofmeyr and others who, with hands on their hearts, swore that segregation was remote from their aims. By failing to concentrate on the positive grounds for complaint those leading the agitation against the Council lost the chance of uniting the coloured people into a compact progressive bloc." Dr. Sacks expressed surprise that Indians in Salt River "voted solidly for Mr. Lawrence, the man who introduced the Pegging Bill"; he was clearly leaving out of account the individualist character of the small Indian trader. He commented on the powerful opposition of the daily Press to the Communist candidates and said that the Roman Catholic priests in the division threw their whole weight against them.

War Prosperity.

8. I have quoted this article at some length, for it is a very fair statement of the paradox inherent in the fact that so great a majority of voters in working class districts on the Rand and in areas with large Cape Coloured populations in the Cape Peninsula should have cast their votes against the Party which had come forward as the champion of their interests. The answer, of course, is not hard to find. The war has brought about a condition of full employment and many working class families now enjoy a standard of living higher than they have ever had: never has the internal demand for the basic foodstuffs been so great. In its inefficient handling of many domestic problems the Government had incurred a great deal of unpopularity; but this feeling was confined largely to the lower ranges of the middle class with fixed incomes much reduced in purchasing power by the general

rise in prices. In the absence of any immediate economic stimulus to discontent, the European working class did not provide any very fruitful soil for the election propaganda of the Communist Party; on the contrary, it could indulge its very real fear of any efforts to weaken the colour bar in industry. This is one of the principal aims of Communist Party policy; and it undoubtedly did much to alienate the support of the white workers of the Rand from the Communist candidates. The issue of the colour bar in industry is responsible more than any factor for the failure of the Communist Party to obtain any significant degree of support from the European workers.

9. In the Cape Peninsula, however, with its large coloured population deeply resentful over the social and economic restrictions to which it is continuously subjected, in normal times considerable support might be expected for a programme aiming at the abolition of discriminations based on race. But the times were not normal. Thousands of coloured families with men in the army were receiving larger incomes from family and dependants allowances than they had ever received from civilian earnings. War industries had vastly increased the demand for the unskilled labour of coloured men; and coloured women in thousands had deserted domestic service for the much more remunerative and congenial work in the large clothing and canning factories of the Western Province. Given even a merely temporary security of employment and income, the coloured people were clearly not much concerned with such "political" questions as the implications of the new Coloured Advisory Council. Nevertheless, even if the Communist Party was disappointed with the support it received from the coloured people, the fact that its candidates in the Cape Peninsula did so much better than its candidates on the Rand (or in Durban and East London) can safely be ascribed to the votes of the Cape Coloured people.

Nationalists and the Coloured Vote.

10. Certainly the Nationalist organ, *Die Burger*, saw in the election results a justification for renewing its cry about the growth of Communist sympathies among the coloured people. It asserted (though, of course, without being able to produce any statistical proof of its assertion) that the overwhelming proportion of votes received by the Communist candidates in the Cape Peninsula came from the coloured people; and asked gloomily what would happen under difficult post-war conditions when at a time of full employment and comparative prosperity, and on its first appearance at the polls, the Communist Party had succeeded in obtaining so considerable a body of coloured support. So far, it concluded, from ever agreeing to the extension of the vote to coloured women on the same terms as those accorded to European women, the Nationalist Party would have to undertake the removal of coloured male voters from the common roll in the Cape.

11. Soon after the elections an argument arose in the columns of *Trek* which shed an interesting light on the relations between the official Stalinist Communist Party and the small but vocal section which still tries to uphold the international revolutionary principles of the late Leon Trotsky. A member of the latter group bitterly assailed Dr. Sacks for posing as a Communist when his "*bourgeois* liberal mentality" was far better suited to membership of the more liberal section of the United Party. His "wishy-washy, meaningless, petty *bourgeois* programme, vacillating and evading every issue could attract no one . . . . It is obvious that he was trying to ride two horses at the same time. But in trying to play respectable and "reasonable" in the eyes of the white electorate and the Government, he could not convince the coloured voters that he was a bona fide anti-segregationist fundamentally opposed to Mr. Lawrence.

12. Dr. Sacks retaliated with an effective defence. His opponent's "sedentary variety of Marxism (which is accompanied by the shouting of old revolutionary slogans) might be satisfactory to those whose activities are confined to the attempt to breathe fresh life into the dead theories of the late and unlamented Leon Trotsky. To those who prefer to combine action with talk it tends to be regarded as a substitute for hard work." He repeated that the destruction of the financial and economic power of the Chamber of Mines "would mark a tremendous shift towards progress in the class balance of South Africa. Industrialization means a growth in the strength of the working class and it is historically fitting that the mining industry, having begotten large-scale industry, should finally be negated by it." His critic had been scornful of his programme of compulsory education for the coloured people, the abolition of the industrial colour bar and good housing. "But if you gather masses of people around you to fight for these elementary rights and it becomes clear that they are unattainable in present-day society (that is, if my Trotskyite critic is right) then at least you have opened the eyes of the people. And because you have fought by their side you have some claim to their confidence in the ensuing fight."

Communism and the Dutch Churches.

13. In my earlier despatch on this subject I described at some length the agitation which the Afrikaner political parties and such organs of political propaganda as the Dutch Reformed Churches were carrying on against the "Communist menace." That this agitation was not solely inspired by the exigencies of the general election is shown by the revival of the agitation in August. In that month a commission appointed by the Federated Dutch Reformed Churches interviewed the Minister of Justice, Dr. Colin Steyn, for the third time with the intention of extracting an answer from the Minister to the memorandum which it had presented to him in March (my despatch No. 144*, paragraph 18). This memorandum had demanded the proscription of the Communist Party, the deportation of all Communist agitators and the maintenance of the Government's refusal to grant legal recognition to native trade unions on the ground that these were under the leadership of Communists. It also pressed for the appointment of a commission composed of representatives of the Church and of the State to make an authoritative enquiry into the extent of Communist activity in the country.

* No. 6.

14. In September, Dr. Steyn sent the commission his reply. He assured it that the law would be enforced "where Communist or any other propaganda infringes the law, but it must be impartially applied without regard to persons, sections or parties." The documents, however, which had been laid before him had not produced any evidence whatever of seditious activities on the part of Communists in South Africa, and no such evidence had been found in the records of the police or of the various authorities whom the Minister had consulted. If such evidence existed, the Church commission should produce it; and if it was found to be of a "material" nature, the necesssary action would be taken in accordance with the law. The Church commission, however, was pressing for special action against the Communist Party, and this was a wholly unreasonable way of approaching such problems. Its demand for the banning of the Communist Party was rejected on the ground that "not the least proof has been given that the Communist Party as such has in any way broken the law or been guilty of any subversive activities which threaten the safety of the State." Referring to the question of native trade unions, Dr. Steyn said that "as long as the law is obeyed no distinction can be made between the Communist Party and any other party in this regard." He also refused to consider the appointment of a commission to investigate Communist activities. The Minister laid some stress on the fact that the Comintern had been dissolved and pointed out that the results of the general election had shown conclusively that the Communist Party did not exercise much influence in South Africa.

15. Dr. Steyn's attitude was fully supported by the whole pro-Government Press, which made great play with the fact that no commission of the Dutch Reformed Church had ever shown concern over the activities of Nazi propagandists and subversive agencies in the years before the war. The Nationalist papers for their part sought to extract what political advantage they could from the Minister's reply by declaring that he had taken the Communists under his protection and by publishing cartoons showing Dr. Steyn standing indifferently by while a church building was being consumed by the Communist flame.

Provincial and Municipal Elections.

16. The Communist Party, discouraged as it was by the results of the Parliamentary election, decided to take no part in recent Provincial Council elections for European constituencies (my telegram No. 1426*). It has, however, nominated a candidate for one of the two native constituencies set up in the Cape Province by the Natives' Representation Act of 1936, the election for which will take place early in December. In the municipal elections in the Cape, however, the Communist Party achieved not insignificant successes by the nomination and election of two Communist candidates to the Cape Town City Council and of one to the East London City Council. The successful candidates in Cape Town were Miss Betty Radford, wife of Dr. Sacks and editor of the *Guardian*, and a Jewish lawyer, Mr. Sam Kahn. In East London, the Communist candidate was Mr. Archie Muller, who had been decisively beaten in the Parliamentary election there; but it is significant that on this occasion he stood as a representative not of the Communist Party as such but of the Workers' Civic League (a "united front" of left-wing groups). The victory of these candidates was hailed by the chairman of the Communist Party, Mr. Andrews, as the reward for "twenty-five years of work against bitter and adverse propaganda." The return of "the first Communists to sit on any official body in South Africa" was a sign that "at last the people begin to understand the truths for which the Communist Party stands." Mrs. Sacks won the Woodstock ward of Cape Town by 920 votes to 591. Only a small proportion of voters took the trouble to record their votes; her opponent was a man of inferior ability who, since the election was fought on strictly local issues, could not conjure with the name of General Smuts; and the result may almost certainly be attributed rather to the superior organization of the Communist Party than to any sudden conversion of the electorate to Communist doctrine. Similar considerations apply in the case of her colleague, Mr. Kahn.

17. Nothing which has happened since my despatch of the 16th April† was written has given me cause to modify the conclusions that I then expressed. Certain new points of detail, however, have emerged, mainly as a result of the enquiries of my representatives in Durban and in Cape Town; and it may be of interest to record them here. It is clear from an interesting note compiled by Mr. Brigden that many officials of the trades unions in Natal are Communists. The majority of these officials are Europeans, but Indians as well as natives hold office in some of the unions: some derive their living soley from these offices. The chairman is frequently secretary and treasurer as well, and he may, in addition, hold office in several unions at the same time. The secretary of the Natal Communist Party is a Mr. Solly Arenstein, who is an active Jewish organizer behind the scenes. Mr. Errol Shanley, the defeated Communist candidate for the Durban Point constituency, is secretary and treasurer of the Durban trades union federation and an official in a number of unions. He is a revolutionary Communist concerned in promoting most of the Durban strikes and is said to be an energetic organizer and agitator. A naturalized South African of Norwegian extraction, Mr. T. M. Johnston, is said to be active in the work of Communist propaganda and organization. A Durban barrister of Jewish extraction, Mr. H. S. Bloom, is the intellectual leader of the local Communists, but keeps well in the background.

Seamen's Organization.

18. A development of some interest is the formation a few months ago of an association of United Nations' seamen under the title of "Brotherhood of the Sea." Its executive committee appears to be composed in fairly equal proportions of local Labour politicians, including Senator Sidney Smith, and members of the Communist Party, and Mr. Brigden expresses the opinion that its activities should be "worth watching." Its vice-president, curiously enough, is Mr. Goldberg, a Dominionite Member of Parliament. One of its most active organizers is a young American Communist, Hugh Waterfield, who is also one of the local leaders of the National Union of Distributive Workers.

* No. 10. † No. 6.

19. It appears that Communists have had some success in organizing the Durban factory workers, but Communist doctrines as such have little appeal. Indian Communists have been active in propaganda among the Indian labourers on the sugar estates, but their efforts have met with little success. The best known of the Indian Communists is H. A. Naidoo, who is chairman of the Party in Natal and secretary of the Sugar Industries Employees' Union.

20. Interesting evidence about the methods and objectives of the Communist Party in regard to trade union organization among natives is given in a letter, a copy of which has reached me through the censorship authorities. Its writer is Miss Pauline Podberry, who, it is said, is engaged to be married to the Indian Communist, Naidoo, mentioned above. When she wrote this letter Miss Podberry was secretary of the African Commercial and Distributive Union. "Jews," she says, "have not played a very prominent part in Durban, although they have in other centres." She gives a penetrating analysis of trade union organization among natives in Durban, which deserves to be quoted in full:

> "Altogether there are almost 50 trade unions in Durban. Out of these about 10 are 'craft' unions with a purely European membership. Although they accept no Africans in their ranks, they take it upon themselves to include the Africans in their particular industries in their agreements with the employers. The Africans are never consulted as to what their wishes might be. The result is that the European workmen receive quite high wages at the expense of the wages of the Africans. These unions are old, well established and enjoy the 'closed-shop' principle, for Europeans, of course.
>
> Then there are about 35 trade unions which have only lately sprung up, mainly in the secondary industries. The leadership of these unions is mainly in the hands of Indian communists. These unions give complete equality to Indian, African and coloured members. Under the Industrial Conciliation Act, 1937, only the Indians and Coloureds can gain registration. However, the Africans in these industries have also been organized, have their representatives on the Committees, and are, in fact, trade union members, even though not legally recognized as such. Out of these, only about five unions have European members as well as non-European. In this latter group the Secretaries are Europeans, Communists and Left-wingers.
>
> Within the last year or so, purely African unions have been established, the largest of which is the union of which I am secretary. In our union we have close on 4,000 members, increasing daily. There are two or three other African trade unions, in the hands of African renegades who have been expelled from the Communist Party. Every attempt is being made by us to win over their membership. Incidentally, the Catholic Church is behind these people in a 'holy' crusade against the Communists. When I took over the secretaryship of this union I made it quite clear to the members that I was only doing it temporarily; the ultimate object being to train in an African leadership. To-day we have come to the stage where the organizers of the union are in a position to take over. I am now resigning from the union and leaving for Cape Town, where I shall continue with either trade union work or Party work.
>
> The policy of the Communist Party has always been towards establishing and training African leaders, and we are, I am glad to say, succeeding so far."

Recognition of Native Unions.

21. In an interesting passage Miss Podberry refers to the efforts of "progressive trade unions" to secure the statutory recognition of native unions and thus the benefits of the system of arbitration and conciliation laid down by the Industrial Conciliation Act. She expresses her perturbation over reports that the Government, instead of granting recognition to the native unions in terms of this Act, was planning to make special provision for them, presumably under the Department of Native Affairs, and not the Department of Labour. "This," she says, is "viewed very seriously by us, as we feel that this is an attempt to control the development of independent native trade unions and put them under the supervision of Government agents. It is an attempt to continue the segregation policy, even in the industrial field." She adds that "the Communist Party of Durban has certainly done most to assist and develop the new trade unions."

22. So far as Communist activity in Cape Town is concerned little new material is available. Sir Edward Harding, my representative there, has, however, succeeded in obtaining an authoritative estimate of the situation from the assistant editor of the *Cape Argus*, who is closely concerned with Government propaganda among the Cape Coloured people. In a reply to a question as to the extent to which "the urbanized and industrialized Cape Coloured had been captured by the Communist Party," Sir Edward Harding's informant wrote as follows:—

> "The Communist strength among the coloured community varies greatly in different districts according to the strength of the Communist organization. As revealed by the figures in the recent general election, the coloured community has in no way been completely captured by the Communist Party. Communist organization was strongest at Woodstock where the Government candidate, Russell, beat the Communist, Snitcher. I have discussed the voting figures with Russell and he considers that at least half and probably more than half the coloured voters supported him. Of those who voted for Snitcher probably comparatively few are actually members of the Communist Party—in fact the total membership of the Party for the whole of the Cape District last year was little over 400. The bulk of the votes given to Snitcher, Sacks and the other Communist candidates were not cast in any fanatical faith, but were a protest against the colour bar and against the Coloured Advisory Council which had been misrepresented to the coloured people by an extreme Communist group, comprising mainly those of Trotskyite tendencies.

> In the recent Municipal election two Communists and one anti-Coloured Advisory Council candidate were elected in districts predominantly coloured.
>
> I think therefore that the tendency is for the Communist Party to gain increased support among the Cape Coloured in the urban areas although they are not yet in a commanding position.
>
> In industrial life this is at present less significant than it appears to be because the Cape Coloured are not highly organized in industry and have a very frail footing in the skilled trades."

23. In reply to a further question as to Communist influence among merchant seamen, Sir Edward Harding's informant confirmed what Mr. Brigden had told me of activities in Durban. "There is some evidence of this," he wrote, "both at Cape Town and East London. (The Greek Seamen's Union is worth watching.) But the main centre of Communist work among seamen is Durban, where an international seamen's centre under the name of 'Comrades of the Sea' has been established." The prime mover in this, he said, was Hugh Waterfield (mentioned above), a young man formerly employed as a junior reporter on a Kimberley newspaper: "He is a decent young fellow but completely obsessed with doctrinaire Communism."

24. I am sending copies of this despatch to the High Commissioners for the United Kingdom at Ottawa, Canberra and Wellington.

I have, &c.,

HARLECH,
High Commissioner.

(c) Native Affairs

G. 264/130.

No. 12.

DESPATCH
from
HIGH COMMISSIONER IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA FOR HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

(Received 27th January, 1942.)

(South Africa.)
(No. 238, Confidential.)

MY LORD, Pretoria, 10th December, 1941.

In the past few weeks there has been a notable awakening of interest in the condition of life of the native populations of the towns of the Union. This may be traced to a variety of causes, not least of which is the poor response to appeals for native recruits for labour service in the Army and the Government's realization that natives can hardly be expected to show much enthusiasm for a "democratic" cause which has yielded them so little in the way of material benefit. The Prime Minister two months ago appointed a Committee to inquire into the conditions of urban natives. Under the able and sympathetic chairmanship of Mr. D. L. Smit, the Secretary for Native Affairs, it has brought to light a condition of affairs in the principal towns of the Union that is proving profoundly shocking to a European conscience made vulnerable by the social ideas of a war-time world. The effects on public opinion of this inquiry have been reinforced by the evidence given before another Committee set up to consider the question of municipal beerhouses for natives. The Press, including all but the most violently Nationalist newspapers (which are absorbed in political warfare) has been admirable both in the prominence given to reports of these inquiries and in the vigour and enlightenment of its comments. Finally, the leaders of liberal opinion are now tending to concentrate more upon exposing concrete defects of native administration than upon the exposition of general principles which alarm a European public only too easily disturbed by doctrines subversive of established social relationships.

2. At the census of 1936 the native population was 6,596,000 distributed among the Provinces as follows:—

Transvaal	2,444,000
Cape	2,045,000
Natal	1,554,000
Orange Free State	553,000

With the exception of the urbanized native population on the Witwatersrand, the greatest density of Bantu settlement was in the Transkeian territories in the eastern districts of the Cape. This area contained a population of 1,154,000 or 70 per square mile. 2,972,000 natives were living in the "native areas" and 3,614,000 on European-owned lands; *i.e.*, some 45 per cent. were living under tribal or semi-tribal conditions and 55 per cent. in towns or as labourers or squatters on European farms. This group of labourers and squatters amounted to no less than 2,190,000, forming a vast landless proletariat comprising more than one-third of the whole native population of the Union.

3. The urbanized group of natives numbered 1,400,000, divided as follows:—

(1) Residential Urban areas and Town lands	390,000
(2) Mining Compounds	387,000
(3) Urban Locations	355,000
(4) Industrial Compounds	114,000
(5) Municipal Compounds	36,000
(6) Construction gangs (Road and Railway)	43,000
(7) Rural European Townships and Town suburbs	47,000
(8) Alluvial diggings	25,000

It is clear, however, that the native workers in mine compounds are not town dwelling in the normal sense since they are regimented and confined to narrowly restricted areas on mining property. They are, in fact, "tribal" natives drawn on temporary contracts from "native areas" all over Southern Africa, including territories outside the Union. Moreover, of the large group of native domestic servants in category (1) of the above table, probably many more than half are only temporarily urbanized and retain their connexions with families in the "native areas." Allowing for these deductions, and in the absence of accurate figures, the permanently town dwelling native population may be estimated at about 600,000. It is this group of urbanized natives and the conditions under which they live, which has given rise to what is the most acute sociological problem in South Africa to-day. For it is in the towns that the pretences of territorial "segregation" and the clumsy rationalizations about the natives being encouraged to "develop on their own lines" are most apparent. It is in the towns, where Europeans and natives are brought into closer contact, that the doctrine of trusteeship is put to its most relentless test.

4. It was not until about 1912 that any considerable movement from the country to the towns became apparent. In the years that followed the growth of industry, with its dependence on a supply of cheap native labour, led to a steady concentration of natives in the towns. Although the Act of Union specifically defined native affairs as the province of the Central Government there remained much ambiguity about the precise powers of the town and city councils in regard to the native populations gathered within their borders. The administration of native affairs in the towns was not placed upon a properly formal basis until the Natives (Urban Areas) Act of 1923. In the interval town councils used what authority they had to push their native populations into "locations" on the outskirts of the town lands, as far as possible from the European residential areas and usually separated from them by a belt of veld which might be anything up to seven miles in width. There was practically no attempt at decent administration. Roads and lighting were not provided and water might be provided at one or two communal taps in only the more advanced municipalities.

5. In Port Elizabeth, one of the four or five towns which had any considerable native population at the beginning of the century, this tendency was carried even further. In 1902 plague broke out in the native location and a terrified city council promptly bundled its occupants out of the town. The natives carried as much as they could of their dwellings on their heads and deposited these bits of corrugated iron on the veld at Korsten, beyond the city's boundary, where in time there grew up a large township of hovels housing 22,000 Cape Coloured people, natives and even a sprinkling of poor whites. But the mere extrusion of the native population could solve no problems. Disease mocks at municipal boundaries. The citizens of Port Elizabeth refused as long as they could to accept the fact that, since the majority of the people of Korsten had work in the city, the township could not merely be disowned and left to moulder on the borders. By 1931, however, it had become generally recognized that Korsten was a grave menace to the health of the city, and the municipal area was extended to include it. This process of slum formation has been repeated on the outskirts of numerous other towns where European farms have been proclaimed townships and divided into plots which have been sold to natives for building purposes. A typical example of such townships is Garsfontein, two miles outside the Pretoria boundary, where subdivisions of the original plots are now sold for as much as £70, some thousands of natives are dependent for water upon an insanitary stream and no social services of any kind are provided.

6. In 1914 the report of a commission to inquire into the incidence of tuberculosis first directed public attention to the unsatisfactory conditions prevailing in urban areas. The Commission declared that it knew of no municipal location which was entirely satisfactory. Among the defects of the locations were ill-chosen sites, the absence of any systematic lay-out, the inadequacy or complete absence of sanitary services, the lack of any proper water supply and the uncontrolled keeping of animals. "But," said the Commission, "it is with the character of the dwellings that the greatest fault must be found. With few exceptions they are a disgrace, and the majority are quite unfit for human habitation. . . . Speaking generally, the dwellings are mere shanties, often nothing more than hovels, constructed out of bits of old packing case lining, flattened kerosene tins, sacking and other scraps and odds and ends. . . . The dwellings are low, dark and dirty, generally encumbered with unclean and useless rubbish. Mud floors are the rule, often below the ground level and consequently apt to be flooded in wet weather. Overcrowding is frequent; and altogether one could hardly imagine more suitable conditions for the spread of tuberculosis." The Commission added that many local authorities were making out of their locations a profit which was placed to general revenue. Before anything could be done to carry into effect the recommendations of the Commission the war intervened. Then the influenza epidemic of October, 1918, provided a powerful stimulus to action. Natives died in thousands, and the menace of the locations to the health of the whole population was grimly demonstrated. Another five years elapsed before the Natives (Urban Areas) Act was passed.

7. This Act, with the amending Act of 1937, defines the powers and obligations of the local authorities in relation to the native populations in their areas. The municipalities were empowered to provide accommodation for natives in the form of locations, villages and hostels. These types were devised to provide for the principal classes of natives. Locations were to accommodate the normal floating and less stable section of the population, which could not afford more than the bare necessities of life. In general, the buildings would be the property of the municipality and would be

let on a monthly tenure to natives living under family conditions, whose employment and residence in the area was temporary and precarious. The native village, on the other hand, was conceived as an area for the more stable and prosperous section whose employment was fixed and whose residence might be expected to be more or less permanent. In the first draft of the Bill introduced into Parliament provision was made not only for the lease of, but also the ownership of, lots by natives. The House of Assembly, however, deleted the words relating to ownership, and in the 1937 amending Act ownership by natives was expressly prohibited. Hostels were for the accommodation of natives not living under the conditions of family life. Parliament envisaged the provision of barracks of single rooms or dormitories where native workers, whose stay in the town alternated with periods of return to the country, could live, and where communal arrangements could be made for feeding, washing and social life.

8. The amended Urban Areas Act makes provision for the residential segregation of natives in the town. A native is not allowed to acquire any interest in land in "white" areas and with the increasing flow of natives to the towns all urban native administration has come to be based on the principle that in the town European interests are paramount and in them the native may live only on sufferance. Thus, amendments to the Act have introduced many stringent provisions designed to control and restrict the entry of natives into an urban area. These provisions were inspired partly by dissatisfaction over native crime especially on the Witwatersrand, but more effectively by complaints of farmers that their labourers were being enticed away by the higher wages and the "glamour" of the towns.

9. In order to end the abuses by which certain municipalities were making a profit out of the locations, the Act made it obligatory on every local authority with natives in its borders to maintain a Native Revenue Account, into which was to be paid all revenue derived from native administration Against the account were chargeable only services rendered directly to natives or expenditure incurred on the locations or hostels.

10. The respective responsibilities of the local and central authorities were defined. According to a high official of the Native Affairs Department, "the Act placed upon the municipalities the responsibility for the good order, health and well-being of those living and working within the area of its jurisdiction. It was necessary that they should have powers to carry out their obligations to both sections of the community as efficiently as possible. On the other hand, the natives have no representation on the municipal or city councils and it is accordingly the duty of the Government to see that their interests are protected and that the administration within the urban areas conforms to the general policy which has been laid down for the conduct of native affairs throughout the Union." The Department of Native Affairs has, accordingly, been invested with very considerable powers of supervision. The Minister's approval is necessary for the lay-out of locations and he has to be satisfied about the adequacy of the water, lighting, sanitary and other services. He may draw the attention of local authorities to defects in their areas and if they are not remedied he may himself assume control, effect the necessary improvements and recover the costs from the municipality concerned. He has the power to enforce, over the municipality's head, the provisions relating to the control of entry into its area; municipal officials in charge of native administration have to be licensed by him. He has wide powers of inspection. The Native Revenue Accounts have to be submitted to him for his approval. With what degree of effectiveness the Native Affairs Department carries out these supervisory functions it is difficult to say. The Department claims that through "tactful" representations many municipalities have been made to see the error of their ways, and it is certain that inspectors of the Department have done useful work in exposing some of the more obvious abuses in the locations. But it is difficult to resist the conclusion that more energetic and less "tactful" handling of some municipalities would have greatly speeded up the process of improvement. This point is referred to again in a later paragraph describing the conditions in the municipal location in Cape Town. The only notable occasion on which the Department has exercised its powers over the head of one of the larger municipalities was its enforcement of a restriction on the entry of natives into the Cape Peninsula; and then it acted not so much in the supposed interests of this area but under pressure from farming organizations who complained of a lack of native labour.

11. Of the duties laid upon the municipalities by the Urban Areas Act the provision of proper housing is by far the most important. Unfortunately it is only within the last seven or eight years that they have made any effective efforts to re-house the natives living under appalling conditions in "black spots" in the cities and in the municipal locations. The problem is, of course largely financial for only a negligible proportion of natives is able to afford an economic rent for houses, and municipalities have been unwilling to bear the expense of sub-economic housing schemes. The turning point came in 1934 when the Central Housing Board decided to extend to native housing schemes the help which had up to then been given only to schemes for the benefit of the poorer sections of the European population. Out of a total fund of nearly £15,000,000 which the Government had promised to make available in instalments for sub-economic housing, municipalities would be able to borrow money at ½ per cent. per annum, on the understanding that in estimating the rents to be charged they should bear a loss equal to half that borne by the Government in providing the loan. The result was that, whereas in the fifteen years from 1920-35 the municipalities had spent a total of £1,260,000, in the five succeeding years they had planned to spend £5,200,000 on native housing. This by no means exhausts the funds which the Government has promised to make available for sub-economic housing, but it is clear that further progress depends on the rate at which the Government is able to provide the necessary funds and the extent to which war exigencies interfere with the supply of building materials and of labour. Numerous housing schemes are, in fact, held up for these reasons.

12. The progress in the rehousing of the urban native population varies greatly from town to town. In five years Port Elizabeth, with the aid of Government sub-economic loans, has re-housed the 22,000 native and coloured inhabitants of Korsten in the well-planned township of New Brighton and at rents ranging from 14s. to 16s. a month (for native houses of two and three rooms). The city is, at the moment, fortunate in its possession of an energetic and liberal-minded Council and its

achievement is unique in South Africa. Colonel Reitz, the Minister of Native Affairs, said after an inspection of the housing schemes: " Port Elizabeth has worked a miracle . . . . It has solved the native question within its boundaries. This is where the Government must learn a lesson." The three larger cities, however, have an unenviable record. In Cape Town about one-third of the native population has been housed in the only location, at Langa. The Native Affairs Commission during a recent visit to the City described the conditions at Langa as " disgraceful and appalling " and declared that they were " filled with indignation that such conditions had been allowed to continue in the Mother City." The remaining two-thirds of the native population live in discreditable slums near the centre of the city or in filthy tin shacks congregated in hundreds on the Cape Flats.

13. In Durban the problem is of a different kind, for there 85 per cent. of native workers have their homes and families in the reserves near the city. These workers live in barracks in the city and the absence of family life has resulted in a low standard of sex morality and a terribly high incidence of venereal disease. The City Council has simply neglected its duty of establishing native villages, as contemplated in the Urban Areas Act, in which native workers in the city could lead a wholesome family life.

14. In Johannesburg about one quarter of the urban native population is housed at Orlando, a " location " of 60,000 inhabitants. The houses are of a reasonable standard but all but the newest have to depend for their water supply on taps set at intervals of six houses in the street. The roads are dusty and unmade and the general absence of trees gives the township an appearance of desolation and neglect. There are two doctors in the township. They are available from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m. and are heavily overworked. At night it is virtually impossible to obtain a doctor from Johannesburg, which is ten miles away. Rents here vary from £1 to £1 5s. 0*d*. a month and a big hole is made in native incomes by a railway charge of 15*s*. a month between Orlando and Johannesburg. At two other locations, Pimville and the Western Township, slums grew up before they were taken over by the municipality and the City Council is now in the position of a slum landlord drawing rent from hundreds of pitiable hovels. As a result of a recent exposure of conditions in these two locations the rents were reduced by 50 per cent. Just beyond the Johannesburg boundary on the main road to Pretoria is Alexandra, where thousands of natives have built their own houses in a township which has no municipal services or control. The city, however, is fast expanding in this direction and there is now a strong movement to clear Alexandra out of the way. The City Council has carried through the first stages of a plan to buy land 20 miles from the City which it will divide into lots to be sold to natives for building purposes. Here the population of Alexandra will in time be rehoused, with full municipal responsibility for the supply of the necessary services. The success or otherwise of the scheme will depend very largely upon the cost of transport between the native " village " and Johannesburg. In Johannesburg at the present time, and indeed in the great majority of municipalities, native transport is left to private enterprise. Transport services for the European section, on the other hand, are generally provided by the local authorities, and are subsidised out of general revenue. So that one finds the anomaly in Pretoria, for example, that natives are charged 9*d*. by a private bus service for a journey for which Europeans are charged 5*d*. by the municipal service.

15. It is significant of the attitude of most municipalities to the native populations within their boundaries that they almost invariably regard their Native Revenue Accounts as self-balancing, or in other words that the urban natives within their areas should pay in full for every service supplied to them. The urban natives are, indeed, treated as a race apart, without any claim on the general wealth of the community which their labour does so much to create: they are not regarded simply as the poorest section of the citizens and as such entitled to social services for which they as a group cannot pay. Some municipalities, indeed, contrive to keep charges high enough and expenditure on native services low enough to yield a large surplus which is left to the credit of the Native Revenue Account or spent on the purchase of capital equipment. Thus in Durban, out of the Native Revenue Account's total income of £107,300 in 1938, no less than £37,600 was net profit. In Johannesburg in 1938 there was a deficit of £23,100 on the Native Revenue Account which was carried forward in anticipation of a surplus at some later date: it was not met out of general revenue. Since then the establishment of a municipal monopoly for the brewing and sale of kaffir beer has given the municipality something like £75,000 a year with which to cover deficits in the account and undertake services which it would not undertake at the cost of general revenue. Here, and in many other municipalities which have availed themselves of the right to establish a kaffir beer monopoly, the profits on municipal beer halls are used to relieve the European ratepayer from the necessity of making a contribution to the Native Revenue Account. " All schemes," it has been said " are floated on beer," including grants to charities and voluntary social welfare agencies.

16. The better municipalities (Pretoria is a creditable example in this respect) have in recent years provided their native populations with clinics, but in the great majority health services are terribly inadequate. Malnutrition, bad housing and inadequate health services combine to raise the native death rate in the towns to almost incredible levels. In East London, where the condition of the natives is deplorable, last year the death rate of native babies was 544 per thousand and in many other big towns it is not much less. In Durban the incidence of tuberculosis has increased to such an extent as a result of bad housing, the diminishing proportion of milk in the natives' diet, and other factors that public opinion is at last beginning to show signs of alarm. The hospitals are the responsibility of the Provincial authorities (subsidized by the Central Government) and there is hardly a town which does not complain about the inadequacy of hospital accommodation for natives. The truth is, that in recent years, the spread of education and health propaganda have done much to break down the traditional fear of hospitals among the natives. In Johannesburg, magistrates conducting coroners' inquests have drawn attention to the disgraceful overcrowding at the Johannesburg non-European Hospital which in many cases makes proper attention impossible. It has led directly to deaths which might otherwise have been avoided. Their remarks have been fully reported by the newspapers and used as a basis of a Press agitation which has done much to arouse public opinion. The authorities have been shaken and there is now talk of building a temporary addition. But the best hope of an improvement in hospital accommodation for

Johannesburg natives lies in a recent announcement that the Defence Department is to build a hospital of 1,000 beds adjoining the boundary of Orlando which will be available after the war for native patients and the training of native doctors. In Pretoria, hospital accommodation for natives is described as " adequate " but there are few towns which can make claims even as modestly vague as this about the medical provision for their native populations.

17. In the larger towns the average wage of the head of a native household of man, wife and two children is about £4 5*s*. 0*d*. per month. Calculations of the minimum income needed for healthy living, vary considerably, according to the standard desired. The Medical Officer of Health of Benoni has estimated that £6 16*s*. 8*d*. per month is needed for food alone; the Director of Native Labour on the Witwatersrand estimated that a minimum income of £6 per month is essential to the well-being of a native family of four living in a location in Johannesburg. No investigator has suggested that £6 is anything but the lowest possible figure and this without taking into account the rise in the cost of foodstuffs brought about by war conditions. There is thus a gap of almost £2 between the earnings of the average native urban worker and the minimum needed to maintain a family in health. The gap is bridged either by the wife going out to work or by the proceeds from the illicit brewing of skokiaan, a noxious drink of kaffir beer laced with carbide and other explosive ingredients. If neither of these alternatives is possible, the family is condemned to severe privation.

18. Official policy, faced with this problem of native poverty, tends to seek a solution in the improvement and extension of social services. It is significant that the Commission appointed to inquire into the conditions of native urban life was expressly told that it should limit its recommendations to improvements which do not include a rise in wages. It is undoubtedly true that a great increase of native welfare would result from a speeding up of housing schemes and that a reduction in rents and transport charges would leave a larger proportion of family incomes to be spent on food. The example of the two or three municipalities which sell milk at cost price or even at a small loss could be more generally followed: and arrangements might be made for the co-operative purchase of vegetables and other " protective " foods. Creches for children of mothers who go out to work are a help and the system could with advantage be extended. More schools could, and should, be provided in the locations and education made compulsory up to the elementary school-leaving standard. It is clear from previous paragraphs that there is room for great improvement in health services. But at the root of the whole native social problem is the low level of wages. The improvement of social services would bring instant relief to thousands of hard-pressed native families, but without an increase in wages these measures would have the effect of pauperising a whole people.

19. The problem of the native wage level is now receiving much attention from economists and others. It is the fashion to emphasize the necessity of raising the purchasing power of the native population as the only practicable solution to the problem of providing South African manufacturing industry with a stable market. Cabinet Ministers admit that the Government, as the largest employer of native labour in the country, has set a deplorably low standard in the matter of wages; and Mr. Sturrock, the Minister of Railways, has openly declared that after the war the wages of natives on the railways will have to be raised. The municipalities, too, are large employers of natives: Johannesburg alone has 12,000 in its service. The majority pay wages below the urban average. The Durban Corporation, however, a month ago raised the minimum wages of its native employees from £5 to £7 a month and by this action set the municipalities a new standard in the treatment of their native employees. It is significant that the proposal was carried only in the face of intense opposition from the leaders of industry who complained about the repercussions of such action on the level of wages paid by secondary industry.

20. The overriding legal disability of the urban native is, of course, the so-called Colour Bar Act of 1926 which prohibits the admission of the native to apprenticeship in the skilled trades. This measure was exacted by the Labour Party as the price of its participation in the notorious " Pact Government " of 1924-29: and there is unfortunately no sign that the Labour Party has made any progress in the intervening period towards a more enlightened attitude. It is no less determined now than it has ever been to maintain a system of race discrimination which bolsters up the wage level of the European worker at the expense of the native. It still wrings out of employers concessions which appear generous but are in reality made at the expense of native workers, who cannot protect their interests by effective organization. It still classifies workers as " skilled " and " unskilled " when what it really means is " white " and " non-white." It dramatises its role in the " fight for socialism " but betrays not the slightest sign of practical sympathy for its non-European fellow workers. It is, in fact, one of the most reactionary forces in South Africa so far as the position of the native worker is concerned.

21. Even as an unskilled worker the native is not admitted to the right of collective bargaining and arbitration embodied in the Industrial Conciliation Act. His trades unions are not recognized by the law. He does, however, come within the scope of the Wage Board, which is doing useful work in levering wages to a slightly higher level in some fields of employment. At the end of 1939 the Wage Board promulgated minimum wages for employees in the commercial and distributive trades in the chief industrial centres of the Union. These ranged from £6 in Cape Town, Port Elizabeth and Johannesburg to £4 15*s*. 0*d*. in Durban and £4 6*s*. 8*d*. in Pietermaritzburg. These wages are low enough, but they are a notable improvement on the levels which prevailed before the award: in Port Elizabeth the wage of native workers in the commercial and distributive trades ranged from £3 7*s*. 0*d*. to £4 10*s*. 0*d*., and in Johannesburg from £3 10*s*. 0*d*. and £4 5*s*. 0*d*. The award, however, applies to only a small proportion of the native working population and the standard it set has not been maintained by the recent wage determination for secondary industry, in which 150,000 natives are employed. Industrialists declare that they cannot pay more and in support of this contention point to the prevailing high level of costs of production which makes it almost impossible, under the conditions of peacetime, to compete in export markets. The truth is that because native labour is cheap and unorganized it is wastefully used and there is no effective pressure on employers to increase its efficiency.

22. It is possible that in time secondary industry, as a result of rationalization and the more efficient use of labour, might be persuaded to raise by degrees the wages of its native workers. But any general policy of raising the wage level would encounter a most formidable obstacle in the enormous power of the gold mines and the farmers. In the Platteland areas wages of farm labourers (excluding food and shelter) are nearer 12*s*. 6*d*. than £1 a month. Farmers complain of a continuous shortage of labour; but it is significant that they rely for an improvement in the labour supply not on a rise in wages and more attractive living conditions but on such legal hindrances to the mobility of labour as the Pass Laws and the restrictions on the entry of natives into the towns. The existence of 2,000,000 underpaid landless African squatters on European farms is one of the major obstacles to improved farming methods such as mechanization, and the farmer class is probably the most reactionary of all in its attitude to natives and their essential needs.

23. For forty years the average wage on the Witwatersrand gold mines has remained stationary at £3 per month (excluding the value of barrack-lodging and rations). During that period there has developed a shortage of native labour which might have been expected to cause a rise in wages. Such is the political influence of the mineowners, however, that the whole bargaining power of the State has been brought into action to avert impending shortages by persuading the administration of Portuguese East Africa to agree to the recruitment of Shangaans for the mines on an ever increasing scale. When that source had been fully tapped the ban was raised on the importation of native labourers from north of latitude 22 degrees North. Here the discoveries of medical science have helped the mines to circumvent the operation of economic law; the drug popularly known as "M and B" has reduced almost to vanishing point the incidence of pneumonia among the sub-tropical natives exposed to the temperature changes of the Transvaal highveld. Absolved by large-scale importation from the threat of labour shortage, the Chamber of Mines exerts an enormous pressure behind the scenes and through its newspapers to resist any rise in the general level of native wages. It is this influence that the Bishop of Johannesburg had in mind when he referred in his charge to a recent Synod to the restraining action of "a hidden hand."

24. In the low level of native wages is discernible the operation of a principle which lies at the very base of the South African economy. Senator Heaton Nicholls, the chief exponent of the segregationist myth, recently declared that it was the aim of official policy "to set aside sufficient land in the reserves to provide a *family anchorage* for all natives except the comparatively small sections which must be considered as permanently detribilized and urbanized." In other words the wages paid to natives employed on the mines and on European-owned farms are not to be regarded as family wages, but merely the wages of the individual worker. The worker's family must get along as best it can on the produce of the land, supplemented by contributions from the wage-earner for the discharge of such obligations as taxes which have to be met in cash. It is notorious, however, that the native reserves—to quote the words of a recent Government report—"are congested, overstocked, eroded and, for the most part, in a deplorable condition." The pace of land purchase, which began so promisingly in 1937, fell to a limp in the following year and is now entirely and regrettably halted during the war, with less than £5,000,000 spent out of the £10,000,000 which General Hertzog had promised in the debates on the Natives Land Act of 1936. The reserves, in fact, far from providing the native people with a position of relative independence which would enable them to stand out for higher wages, serve merely to subsidize the wages paid on the mines and the farms and exert a depressing influence on the wage level of the permanently urbanized section.

25. In the last resort there are two conditions on the fulfilment of which will depend the economic improvement of the native population. They are, firstly, a comprehensive programme vigorously carried out for the wide extension and improvement of the native reserves and, secondly, a social policy which will relax present restrictions on the economic development of the native worker and enable him to earn whatever he is capable of earning. Colonel Deneys Reitz, the Minister of Native Affairs, promised the Natives' Representative Council the other day that after the war the native population of this country would share in the benefits of a social system inspired by the principles of the Atlantic Charter. Much will depend on the extent to which this far-reaching undertaking is fulfilled.

I have, &c.,

HARLECH,

High Commissioner.

G. 689/6.

No. 13.

DESPATCH

from

HIGH COMMISSIONER IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA FOR HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

(Received 10th March, 1943.)

(South Africa.)

(No. 58. Confidential.)

SIR, Cape Town, 15th February, 1943.

I have the honour to report that in recent months a series of strikes of native workers has occurred on the Witwatersrand and in other parts of the country which has brought home in painful fashion to white South Africans the grievances and disabilities suffered by the native workers of the towns. The cost of living is steadily rising: prices of commodities which enter largely into native consumption have risen by more than 20 per cent., while wages have for the most part remained stationary at a level which even in pre-war days made a tolerable standard of existence impossible. Even in industries and areas where the Wage Board has intervened to fix minimum wages of

unskilled workers its determinations have in some cases failed to rise to the level which most people agree is necessary for a healthy life or have for a variety of reasons not been enforced by the Minister of Labour. The pressure of wartime economics and the stimulus of reformist ideas which find expression in documents like the Atlantic Charter and the pronouncements of Allied statesmen have combined to foster in the minds of the African workers of the towns an intense consciousness of their economic grievances. Their general feeling of insecurity and discontent finds immediate expression in demands for the increase of wages and the improvement of conditions of work; but it has also brought to the forefront of discussion the question of trade union organization among natives and the extent to which this important phenomenon is to be recognized (and controlled) by the State.

2. In reply to a question in the House of Assembly at the end of January the Minister of Labour stated that in the latter six months of 1942, thirty-four strikes involving native workers had taken place. In a schedule which he attached it was shown that in nearly every one of these strikes the workers were pressing for higher wages and an improvement in their conditions of work. Even in those strikes in which other causes were given it is clear that the inadequacy of wages lay at the root of the discontent. In some strikes (notably on the sugar estates in Natal) the workers returned to work as soon as the Department of Labour promulgated wage determinations that the Wage Board had already recommended; in some cases the strikers returned to work after small wage increases had been granted or adjustments had been made in the payment of the cost of living allowances or an arbitrator had been appointed to inquire into their grievances. In a minority of cases the men returned to work after their demands had been rejected.

3. During the first half of December the European families of Johannesburg suffered some inconvenience and a salutary reminder of their dependence on the labour of native servants, when natives engaged in the delivery of milk and meat ceased work. The strikes were efficiently organized. There was some intimidation of strike-breakers but little overt violence; the Press, and especially the Opposition newspapers, however, seized on what minor disturbances there were to conjure up horrifying visions of red ruin stalking the streets of the city. The milk strike was provoked by the persistent refusal of the Minister of Labour to extend to milkmen the benefits of a minimum wage determination of 27*s*. 8*d*. promulgated nearly three years before for workers in the "commercial distributive" trades. He had defended his failure on the grounds that since many farmers distributed their own milk supplies dairying was in part at least an agricultural occupation and could not be made subject to industrial legislation framed for workers in the towns. The clamour from milkless households, however, swept away the Minister's hesitation; an arbitrator was appointed to investigate such demands as that for a "closed shop" and Mr. Madeley undertook to apply the wage determination to the natives engaged in the delivery of milk. The strike ended and householders once again received their supplies of milk; the interruption had lasted only four days but native workers had received a useful demonstration of the advantages of collective action. The strike of workers in the meat industry ended in a similar manner with the concession of the conditions prescribed by the same determination.

4. At the end of last December a wage determination covering native municipal workers on the Witwatersrand and in Pretoria came into force. Its recommendations were moderate in the extreme: a minimum wage of 25*s*. 6*d*. a week, as against the 35*s*. which every investigator agreed was necessary for a healthy life. The new recommendation of the Wage Board had actually been published eighteen months before but the Minister had once again taken an unconscionable time about deciding to enforce it. The municipalities had had ample warning about the new scale of wages and adequate time in which to make financial provision to meet the added cost of native labour. This they had neglected to do. When the determination was at last gazetted they loudly complained that they could not afford the new rates and that in any case their funds had been allocated and no provision could be made for increased wages for their native employees until the end of the financial year in March. They appealed to the Minister of Labour at the very least to postpone the enforcement of the new scale until then. This Mr. Madeley agreed to do, whereupon two thousand native employees of the Johannesburg municipality organized a sudden strike. Once again the power of organized action was demonstrated. Within a few hours the Municipality's objections to the new scale collapsed. It announced that it would withdraw its application to the Minister of Labour for exemption from the wage determination and that it would pay the higher wages as from the stipulated date, i.e. 1st December. Mr. Madeley then declared that he had been misled by "misrepresentations" by the municipalities into postponing the enforcement of the new scales.

5. The mishandling of the situation by the Minister of Labour and by the municipalities had tragic consequences at Pretoria where many lives were lost in a disturbance that took place in the municipal compound. On 19th December the City Council was informed that its request for a postponement of the wage determination until 1st April had been refused. It accordingly decided to pay its native employees the increase in wages, which was to be retrospective. There was, however, some delay in the accounting department of the municipality in getting the new system into operation and the native workers were disappointed in their expectation of receiving the additional pay in time for Christmas. On 28th December the native workers were addressed by the Compound Manager and assured that they would receive the additional sums of money. There was, however, some misunderstanding and dissatisfaction; stones were thrown; the police in panic invoked the intervention of the military. A force of a hundred soldiers arrived on the scene. They were without proper control or discipline and, despite the fact that the demonstrators at once took to their heels and made no attempt at resistance, they opened fire and continued to fire despite orders to cease. Sixteen natives were shot dead and about sixty wounded. One European soldier was shot in the back by his own comrades. The Prime Minister at once issued a statement expressing his sorrow and regret and announcing that a judicial commission of inquiry would be appointed to investigate the matter. That commission was set up a few days later with Mr. Justice Murray, of the Transvaal Bench, as Chairman. Its sittings have occupied the intervening period and much evidence has been laid. I shall send you a copy of its report when it is completed. In the meantime it is enough to say that the evidence so far laid has left no doubt about the lack of control shown by the troops

and the shocking behaviour of European civilians who joined with disgraceful zest in the process of "beating up" the natives. Worst of all, the great majority of witnesses have asserted that there was no necessity to fire upon the crowd—an assertion which is borne out by the fact that the wounds sustained by the victims were almost without exception in the back. Conditions of life in this compound have been shown to be disgraceful.

6. Conditions in the Natal collieries, which have long been deplorable, have been brought to the notice of the public as a result of the prosecution of a number of native workers for taking part in a riot at the Northfield Colliery, Dundee, at the end of September. The evidence laid during the trial showed that the native workers suffered from many serious and just grievances. They complained about the lack of the most elementary comfort in the compound dormitories, the poor quality of the food supplied, the assaults inflicted upon them by white miners, the difficulty of making their grievances known to the management, overcharging by the privileged trading store on the mine, and the harsh treatment to which they were subjected by the native police employed by the mine. These are formidable grievances and it is significant that they were confirmed by the Judge, who had made a point of inquiring into them. It is an odd commentary on South African justice, nevertheless, that despite a most sympathetic summing-up by the Judge, in which he went fully into the workers' grievances, sentences of imprisonment ranging from five years to six months were imposed upon more than thirty of the men. This is an instructive case. In South Wales or Yorkshire, miners dissatisfied with conditions of labour have the advantages of an efficient and comprehensive machinery for the expression and satisfaction of their grievances and, in the last resort, the weapon of the strike. In Natal and the goldfields of the Rand, however, a system of recruited labour on contract, with the men confined to barrack-like compounds, has no place for the negotiated settlement of grievances. In the very nature of things, every attempted strike must inevitably turn into a "demonstration" which the police are called to stop. A criminal prosecution is an inevitable consequence.

7. As to the Natal collieries generally, I would observe that, as High Commissioner for the Territories, I had received some time ago reports which convinced me of the unsatisfactory conditions there and before the September incidents had refused to allow recruiting for the collieries to be renewed in the Territories. The Native Affairs Department who previously had been inclined to decry the reports which I passed on to them, have now been rudely awakened to the gravity of the situation and have appointed an inter-departmental Committee to go into the whole question.

8. I am informed that in the mining compounds of the Witwatersrand, too, there is dissatisfaction. Native wages have not risen since 1933, and the actual purchasing power of wages paid to the native workers is said to be the same, and in some cases a little lower, than the real value of wages many years ago. The mineowners have in the past conducted their wage policy on the paradoxical principle that since native workers from the reserves are concerned to earn a fixed sum to pay taxes and meet other cash obligations, a rise in wages would lead, not to an increase in the supply of labour, but to a falling off. Lately, however, the increasing inroads which Government taxation is making in profits and the growing difficulties of obtaining essential mining materials from the United States have made the Gold Producers' Committee shift their ground in their opposition to an increase in wages. In a recent interview with the Prime Minister they declared that if wages of native workers on the mines were raised to the level prescribed by recent wage determinations for workers in the "commercial distributive" trades it would cost the mines no less than £7,000,000 a year. Of this more than half would have to come out of a decreased yield in taxation to the Union exchequer and the remainder out of profits (which have already declined considerably during the past year). The necessitities of special war taxation on the Gold industry, the political influence of the mineowners, and the inertia of the Government will certainly combine to oppose any movement towards any higher wages for natives in the gold mines. The vast majority of natives working in the gold mines are housed and fed in compounds. The free medical care which they receive is excellent, and though the compound system may be open to fundamental objections, the Witwatersrand compounds are among the best managed in Africa. Perhaps the greatest grievance of native workers in the gold mines is the almost universal flat rate of wages paid to all types of worker and the absence of the incentive and reward for more experienced or better work. It is true that certain types of piéce-work such as shaft sinking (largely undertaken by Basuto from Basutoland) give natives an opportunity of earning considerably higher wages than the normal. But in general there is inadequate differentiation of reward for industrial merit. The Basuto, in particular, feel that they are "better men" than Portuguese natives or even Pondos from the Transkei and that they deserve a higher reward.

9. Low wages, however, are not the only grievances of these workers. Since the compound system on the mines protects the natives from the immediate effects of rising prices, the lower wages, when compared with those paid in certain other industries such as the iron and steel works at Vereeniging, are perhaps the least of their grievances. Others relate to the assaults to which they are subjected by white overseers, the organization of their shifts underground and, indeed, the general restrictiveness of life in compounds separated by hundreds of miles from their families. In recent weeks the shortage of maize in the country has forced the Government to ask the mines to cut down by one-third the supply of mealies in the compounds. This undoubtedly adds to the present restiveness of the native mine-workers. They are conscious, too, that the shortage of maize is pressing heavily on their families in some of the reserves.

10. Public proof of this restiveness was given last month by a strike of native workers on the Langlaagte gold mine. The reasons put forward by the strikers were clearly rationalizations of a deep discontent and in themselves were too trivial to account for their action. Once again the police were called in, a large number of workers bundled off in motor vans to the police cells and forty-eight eventually brought into court charged with striking in violation of the emergency regulation which had been promulgated a few days before. Ten "ring-leaders" were sentenced to two months' hard labour and the remainder to a fine of £5 or three weeks' imprisonment.

11. The magistrate, in delivering sentence, voiced the suspicion that the accused men had been listening to "agitators"; and the manager of the mine in his evidence made the same suggestion. The strike, he said, was merely the result of the activities of persons who were interested in disturbing the peace of the country during the war. "It would be easy for such persons to do this by playing on the feelings of ignorant natives and by misrepresentation to divert their grievances of the past into unlawful channels." He expressed the significant opinion that the strike would not have taken place if the workers involved could have belonged to a responsible trade union.

12. From the context of the manager's evidence it seems that he was referring more to the former anti-war opposition than to the Communists as the chief instigators of the strike. Since Russia's entry into the war the Communists have thrown their weight behind the war effort and it is known that the policy of the South African Communist Party is strongly opposed to ill-considered strikes which might hamper the country's effectiveness as an ally of Russia. The Johannesburg branch of the party, indeed, went so far during the strikes in Johannesburg as to issue a pamphlet appealing to workers to refrain from strikes. "Red-baiters," however, and especially the Opposition groups in Parliament (who are doing their best to resurrect the Communist bogy for election purposes), have unfortunately received some support from the Prime Minister himself. In a statement which General Smuts made in reply to a delegation from the Christian Council which had come to discuss native grievances with him, he openly ascribed the strikes to Communist activity. This statement was immediately hailed as a confirmation of their allegations by the Opposition Press, which also made full use of a similar statement by a former Mayor of Johannesburg.

13. The Secretary of the Johannesburg branch of the Communist Party, in a letter which was published in *The Star*, strongly denied these allegations. "The responsibility for these strikes," he said, "must be put fairly and squarely on the shoulders of the employers who pay starvation wages to their African employees, and the Government, which persistently refuses recognition of native trade unions under the Industrial Conciliation Act and thus deprives the African worker of the opportunity to put forward his demand through legal channels which operate in respect of trade unions of other workers. So far from encouraging the recent series of strikes, many of them spontaneous, the Communist Party has used its influence strongly to urge the workers to join their trade unions and to press their legitimate demands in a way that will enable them to be settled by negotiation." It is difficult to deny the justice of this argument.

14. The Communists are, of course, more tolerated now than they have ever been by a public opinion deeply impressed by Russian achievements in the war. The local Communists are certainly doing their best to exploit the sympathy with Russia and in the Friends of the Soviet Union have built up an organization which is a very useful instrument of disguised and subtle Communist propaganda. Their numbers, however, are very small and there is no reason to believe that they receive support or financial assistance from the present administration in Moscow. Their chief activity is among the native and coloured peoples who, it might be expected, should readily respond to their doctrines of race equality. It is significant that their general secretary is Moses Kotane, an African native from the Transkei; but it is no less significant that two native Communists who contested elections to the Natives' Representative Council last November were both defeated by large majorities. I believe that it can safely be said that the political and economic doctrines of Communism have made little impression on the mass of native workers, but it is true that individual Communists have by their energy and determination established themselves in positions of influence in the white trade unions and that some of the abler officials of the native trade unions are known to be members of the Communist Party or in sympathy with it.

15. This is a question of some importance since it is closely bound up with the Government's continued failure to bring native trade unions within the scope of the Industrial Conciliation Act of 1937. This Act set up an elaborate machinery for the settlement of labour disputes, but native trade unions were specifically excluded from its benefits by a technical definition which limited the meaning of "employee" to European workers. For more than a year strong pressure has been exerted on the Government to secure the passage of a Bill to amend this definition to include non-European workers; and during the last session of Parliament the Prime Minister caused to be conveyed to the natives' representatives in the House of Assembly, an assurance that such a Bill would be introduced during this year's session. The Government, however, has gone back on this promise. No such Bill is to be introduced and no undertaking is being given about a possible amendment of the law in the future. It is understood that the ostensible reason for this failure to carry out a promise is that the Government fear that the control of the native trade unions may "fall into the hands of the wrong people", i.e., the Communists; but it is also known that the Chamber of Mines is strongly opposed to the official recognition of native unions. Such a step would, in its view, lead inevitably to the development of trade unionism among the native workers of the gold mines and to demands backed up by collective action for increased wages. It is, however, fair to say that, with an election impending and the Opposition ready to make capital out of any action by the Government which could possibly be used as a plank in a "black menace" platform, the Government could not at this stage implement the Prime Minister's undertaking.

16. The immediate result of the strikes has been to lead the Government to issue a proclamation about settlement of labour disputes, of which I enclose a copy*. I should explain that, in terms of the definition of "employee" in Section 1, this regulation applies only to natives. It is clearly of a repressive character; as you will see, it prohibits for the period of the war all strikes by native workers and provides maximum penalties of £500 fine or three years' imprisonment or both for any contravention. On the other hand it lays down procedure by arbitration, which is at least an advance on the pre-existing position under which the natives had no redress for grievances other than by way of strikes. While therefore the Government have refused to allow the establishment of native trade unions and have taken away from the natives the strike weapon, they have at least provided some machinery for the ventilation of their grievances. It is already clear that this measure has caused

* Not printed here.

further profound dissatisfaction among native workers. It is being strongly attacked in Parliament by the natives' representatives and it has provoked an excellent leading article in the *East London Dispatch* which warns the Government that " the native labour position may deteriorate very sharply under the spur of the new regulation and the Government may find itself being impelled along a road of ruthless repression which it never intended to follow."

17. As a footnote to this account of a depressing situation it remains for me to report the first statement made by Major van der Byl after his surprising appointment to be Minister of Native Affairs. Having described the provisions of the new war measure, he said: " It has been made clear to all concerned that once they have contracted to work under specified conditions they must carry out their contracts, and that any refusal to comply with the terms of such contracts, or any acts of violence, will not be tolerated." Needless to say, a statement so inadequate and so lacking in understanding of the varied causes of present discontents has done nothing to influence industrial natives in favour of the new head of the department mainly concerned with their affairs.

18. The new Minister, coming from the western Cape where he is a large and progressive farmer and landowner, has personal knowledge of the Cape Coloured but little or no previous contact with Bantu natives and their psychology. It is perhaps inevitable that with a general election looming ahead he has to be careful not to give political handles to the negrophobe opposition parties who are always ready to exploit native unrest or any concession to native sympathizers for their party political purposes. The great dependence of the Minister of Finance on revenue from the mines is an ever-present factor in determining Government policy in relation to the costs of getting gold, and any action by workers which might decrease the output of gold would seriously affect the Union's budgetary position. I am therefore not hopeful that any new or more progressive policy in these matters can be inaugurated before a general election or during the duration of the war. But the longer the handling of the economic grievances of native industrial workers is postponed the more difficult will be their solution when more favourable political circumstances permit of their reconsideration.

19. I am forwarding copies of this despatch to the United Kingdom High Commissioners at Ottawa, Canberra and Wellington.

I have, &c.,

HARLECH,

High Commissioner.

P.S.—Since this despatch was typed I have had the interesting information that the Government are proposing to appoint a judicial commission to inquire into the wages of native workers on the mines.

G. 689/13.

No. 14.

DESPATCH

from

HIGH COMMISSIONER IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA FOR HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

(Received 2nd October, 1943.)

(South Africa.)

(No. 271.)

Pretoria, 9th September, 1943.

SIR,

Sir,—I have the honour to transmit a copy of a report* of an Inter-Departmental Committee which was appointed to enquire into conditions existing on the Cape Flats in 1942. The appointment of this Committee was the outcome of the disastrous floods which resulted from abnormally heavy winter rains in 1941. It would not, as a local report and particularly one dealing with a locality both small and non-typical, be of much interest to you or any department of the United Kingdom administration, were it not that the Committee in their investigation into conditions in the Cape Flats area have of necessity had to deal with one of the major problems of the Union of South Africa to-day, namely the growth around the fringes of the major cities of semi-urban communities, mostly inhabited by non-Europeans, in which conditions of the most appalling squalor obtain. In order, moreover, to make recommendations for the future improvement of such an area, the Committee have been obliged to investigate such varied post-war problems in South Africa as housing, industrial development and small-scale farming for urban markets. On all of these questions their conclusions are not without interest, particularly in view of the possibility of post-war migration from the United Kingdom to the Union, which, it can be taken, will be to urban or semi-urban areas.

2. The Cape Flats constitute an area of very uniform physical appearance which is sharply differentiated from the surrounding country, and indeed from any other area in Southern Africa. It is a low sandy isthmus connecting the mountains of the Cape Peninsula on the west, which rise to over 3,500 feet in Table Mountain, with the mountains which fringe the plateau of Southern Africa, whose steep scarp varies between 5,000 and 7,000 feet. To the north-west, Table Bay curves into the Flats, and their extension is checked by the bare rolling hills of the Tygerberg. To the south lies the 20 mile-wide False Bay. The north-westerly winds which blow in the winter tend to edge the Flats with sand dunes on the north, while the south-easters which blow during the summer months have built up low dunes the whole way along the False Bay shore. The area within these boundaries comprises some 700 square miles—*i.e.*, an area almost exactly equal to Surrey. It is not completely flat,

* Not printed here.

though seldom does any part of the surface rise to more than 60 feet above sea level. The higher sandy areas are partly covered with plantations of pine trees grown to provide sleepers for the railways, and the larger among the shallow depressions form, at the present time, vleis or lakes, some of which show litttle shrinkage during the dry summer months, while others dry up completely in the spring in time for crops to be sown and reaped before winter. The surface of the flats rapidly dries out into loose sand in the summer months wherever it is exposed to sun and wind, but it has in the course of the past one hundred years been almost completely covered, except where cleared for cultivation, with Fort Jackson wattles introduced from Australia to anchor the coastal sands. These wattles grow to a height of 15 feet and form dense thickets traversed only by narrow foot paths. The mountains of the Cape Peninsula have a winter rainfall of up to 100 inches, and during each winter season the streams cascade down their steep sides in floods which overflow their banks and deposit large quantities of silt in the vleis which quickly fill and overflow into other low-lying areas often making the few roads impassable. In summer, on the other hand, the flow of water into the streams is almost imperceptible since the surface level inclines so gently towards the sea that their mouths both in False and Table Bays become silted up completely with sand. Yet within this area there is a population which has been estimated to number up to 80,000 persons, and the importance of the Flats to Cape Town can be estimated when it is realized that apart from two small fertile valleys in the mountains of Cape Peninsula and the foothills and valleys of the mountains to the east, they are the only areas capable of intensive cultivation for hundreds of miles. Once over the crest of the mountains begins the vast rain-shadow area of the dry Karroo.

3. In these Flats, which may in geologically recent times have been sunk wholly beneath the sea, and which as I have said, are now flooded in winter and parched in summer, water is clearly the beginning and end of most problems. All plans for avoiding floods in winter have to take into consideration the maintenance of the water level in the sub-soil during the summer months. The Committee therefore support schemes submitted by the local authorities for preserving the vleis as recreational lakelands and bird sanctuaries by connecting them by canals and locks which will at once suffice to carry off extensive flood water in winter and to conserve the level of the water in summer. Such combined drainage and conservations schemes can, however, only have the effect of further increasing the value of the cultivable land on the Flats which pressure of population and the accessibility of the market for all agricultural produce at Cape Town has already forced up to prices which leave little margin of profit to the farmer. At the current price of up to £100 a morgen (slightly more than two acres) a considerable amount of capital is needed to make farming pay, and the Committee found that many farmers whose capital is in excess of £2,000, are considerably in debt. Even in vegetable growing for the city markets and for the requirements of ships, which has received a great fillip during the war, tends to pay only when undertaken by large companies with considerable capital. The plans proposed for the control of flood water will, therefore, have the paradoxical effect of further handicapping the small farmer.

4. Large estates or properly cultivated small farms which, by reason of the capital involved, are necessarily owned by Europeans are not, however, characteristic of the Flats. The greater part of the cultivated area consists of small patches, rather than fields, which appear to have been dug haphazard but which in reality follow everywhere the subterranean water-level in summer. Coloured families living in huts among the surrounding wattle-covered sand dunes plant these patches and number probably five-sixths of all the inhabitants of the Flats. The size of their patches is a sufficient indication that even with two or three crops a year they cannot support the owners or tenants even at the primitive level which their wretched huts proclaim is the most they can hope for; indeed the small size of the plots is often the result of division and re-division of an original plot in a desperate attempt to spread the burden of purchase price or rent. In such conditions rack-renting by absentee owners is general. The Committee attempted to deal with the problem by recommending that the transfer of land should be simpler and less expensive and by endeavouring to secure that the value of the land should be recorded in all agreements, but at best such recommendations touch no more than the fringe of the problem. Unless the Government or the City of Cape Town purchase adequate land on which to settle coloured farmers at rentals within their earning capacity the problem for the latter of how to obtain a livelihood from their holding must remain insoluble.

5. Indeed, every recommendation of the Committee for the improvement of conditions of life on the Flats has the corollary of increasing the cost of living for the coloured worker for whose benefit they are primarily designed. At present he lives in a hut called a " pondokkie," which is described in the report as " owing nought to any school of architecture, European or Asiatic, ancient or modern." The conception of the pondokkie is " determined entirely by the scraps of material which go into its structure; pieces of corrugated iron, old tins and drums, rough boughs, sacking, anything which can possibly offer protection against the weather. Piece by piece scrap material is bought, begged or filched and added to make room for a growing family. There are no windows or ceiling, and very often no door; sanitation is non-existent. Many of these hovels would be a disservice to animals. The pondokkie is the lowest standard of human habitation." Some even of these hovels are rack-rented. The Committee consequently recommended that the housing problem should be tackled seriously and drastically. They estimate that 82,000 persons in all in the entire area of the Cape Peninsula and the Flats require rehousing and that approximately 16,500 dwellings are required for the coloured population. They suggest the erection of a very simple type of cottage, and since they estimate that the average pre-war cost of such a cottage, including the cost of land, would be about £500, they express the view that it is hopeless to expect even a small proportion of the coloured families ever to be in a position to purchase one of these houses. They therefore recommend that the houses be built at the expense of the City and let to the coloured families at rentals appropriate to their incomes, which they calculate should not exceed one-fifth of the family's weekly income. They admit that such a rehousing scheme would be possible only at a net annual loss to the City Council of approximately £33,000 and at a total initial cost of £8,250,000, though this limited sum would cover the provision of sub-economic houses for a relatively small number of Europeans. They point out that if the City Council are prepared to undertake this responsibility the new townships could be properly laid out and the necessary provision made for ordinary suburban amenities.

6. The prospects of the City Council adopting any such scheme must, however, be considered to be poor. The Council at Cape Town is elected on a suffrage basis which gives maximum representation to the owners of property and a very high proportion of the property in the City area is owned by others than the occupiers, *i.e.*, ownership of property in Cape Town has largely become a speculation based on the estimated returns of revenue. The Town Council is therefore specially representative of persons whose direct interest it is to keep rents high and rates low and whose attitude in the past has been one of strong criticism of any proposals, whatever their merits, which would have the consequence of raising the rates. The greatest difficulty is always experienced in securing from the Council adequate votes for hospitals or health services, and the reaction of the Council to a suggestion of unproductive expenditure to the extent of £8,000,000 can readily be imagined. Moreover, it is to be feared that the Council will seize upon a further recommendation of the Committee, that assistance should also be given towards providing houses for persons whose income does not exceed £750 per annum, to divide their housing activities and therefore their expenditure between two types of housing estates, one of which can be relied upon to give them a fair assurance of recovering their expenditure without any permanent increase in the burden of rates. Large areas of the Flats do not come within the City boundaries, and the City Council are likely also to seize upon this fact to appeal for financial assistance to both the Cape Provincial Council and to the Central Government, and to wash their hands of the responsibility for not providing adequate housing for the coloured population of the Flats if their requests are turned down. The Provincial Council, for its part, would undoubtedly find it difficult to grant large sums of money, at the expense of the poor rural areas of the Province, for the provision of better housing in and near Cape Town, particularly since all the Provinces have been agitating for some years for an increase in the financial assistance which they receive from the Central Government towards the steadily increasing burden of the social services which are their responsibility, and the Cape Provincial Council is therefore also likely to attempt to pass the burden. So far, however, the Minister of Finance has shown no disposition to loosen the purse strings of the national Treasury for any schemes of social reconstruction, and although he will probably be obliged to do so as a result of the recent general election it is more than likely that he will attempt to provide funds only for those services for which the Central Government will obtain the credit, and in particular for those which will affect the voters at the next general election, prominent among whom will be the white ex-soldiers. I am probably not being unduly pessimistic in forecasting that houses for the coloured population of the Cape Flats in the measurable future and on the scale considered necessary by the Committee are most unlikely to be provided.

7. There remains therefore the possibility of improving the condition of the coloured population by providing them with alternative employment to the cultivation of their plots. There is already a large cement factory in the centre of the Flats, and there is a certain amount of quarrying, but clearly there is little prospect of any large development of the mining in such an area. Fortunately the prospect of industrial development is fairly promising. The very restricted area available for the erection of factories in Cape Town has already driven industry on to the Flats where factories have been erected along ten miles of the main road from Cape Town to the north. The more important of these factories in the past have been the furniture factories, largely dependent on the use of imported timbers, but taking advantage also of the traditional skill of the coloured workmen in making furniture a trade on which many of their ancestors have been employed since the 18th century. Other factories, particularly those dealing with the canning or processing of locally produced foods, have developed considerably during the war and there is a possibility of further development in the canning and use of fish products, provided the resources of the fishing grounds off the coast of the Western Province are exploited properly. Development of the fisheries would also have the useful effect of giving expanded employment to that portion of the coloured population which has traditionally engaged in line and seine-net fishing in False Bay and trawling from Cape Town and Port Victoria. The low wages of the coloured workman or workwoman would help to balance the otherwise relatively high cost of production, and under the present system by which several members of a family are accustomed to seek outside employment, the wages of the family as a whole might then be sufficient to permit of their aspiring to a somewhat higher standard of living than the present. The recommendations of the Committee for the establishment of housing settlements near the factory areas would have the further advantage of reducing that undue proportion of the family income which has in the past had to be devoted to the expenses of transport for the breadwinner to and from his place of work.

8. Such factory development is not likely, however, to affect for some years at any rate the more remote areas of the Flats since so far the factories have only reached the fringe and the remainder is likely to stay, as at present, a sort of no man's land occupied by the poorest of the coloured people. Here, their hovels, miles from the roads, are occupied either at a nominal rental which is not worth the trouble or cost of collection, or the inhabitants have simply squatted where they have thought fit. On the arrival of a collector, who must trudge through miles of sand and bush, they have only to take to the bush themselves until his patience is exhausted. For this reason the interior of the Flats has become a sort of Alsatia to which the coloured inhabitants on the fringe have continually been driven as the encroachment of the city roads has increased the value of their land and forced them, penniless, from their homes. There they exist, partly by going to work in the factories already mentioned, to which they walk miles each day, while their wives and daughters hire themselves out as servants or hawk from door to door the vegetables and flowers from their plots, and partly by producing and selling crude but potent wines and spirits in illicit shebeens which flourish throughout the length of the Flats and to which the coloured and native population of Cape Town flock during the week-ends. Even so, the average weekly gross income per household is only £1 12*s.* 6*d.*, and 70 per cent. of the families live below the poverty line, a condition which the Committee assume must involve permanent malnutrition and occasional starvation. No sanitation exists in any of the hovels in the interior and floods pollute the wells. Where the police cannot penetrate, few if any doctors or nurses have an inclination or ability to go. Typhoid is endemic. Tuberculosis is six times as frequent as among the European population, infant mortality is ten times as high, and infant deaths account for 50 per cent. of all deaths. The expectation of

life is 25 years. Ten thousand children never go to school and even at the small scattered schools run by the Moravian Brethren, the children of all ages who can be seen carrying their slates in the morning present a picture to shock any but those hardened to the daily sight. Thin and spindle-shanked, with rags for clothes, several of the children are sure to be crippled or deformed, and most show signs of the rickets from which they have suffered as babies. To obtain hospital treatment or proper medical attention it is necessary for them to tramp anything up to twenty miles to the hospitals at Wynberg or Groote Schuur, where there are a total of under 600 beds for a coloured and native population of nearly 200,000 and where in consequence they have little or no prospect of being received. Three thousand beds are required for coloureds suffering from tuberculosis alone, and in the course of the last year among the new applicants for medical treatment 3,000 new cases of veneral disease were detected. In these circumstances it is no wonder if the vast majority prefer to die where they have lived. The average coloured inhabitant of the Cape Flats goes to his grave unwashed and diseased, completely illiterate, without ever having known the amenities of the poorest house and seldom having had sufficient food at a meal to still his hunger. No improvement in health services is likely to affect these people until, as the Committee recognize, they have been completely rehoused, and I have already discussed the prospect of the rehousing schemes.

9. Such conditions would be sufficiently appalling if they disgraced only one city in the Union, but, with a few exceptions like Port Elizabeth, they have become so widespread as to be a regular feature of urban life. At Durban the Indian takes the place of the coloured man at Cape Town. Here the descendants of indentured labourers brought over for work on the sugar plantations have drifted into the town. I enclose a copy of a volume of *Race Relations*, just published, in which is printed the report of a research committee which has been working for the past four years to elicit the facts of " Indian Life and Labour in Natal." The committee found that rural Indians either work on the sugar plantations or go in for market gardening. On the plantations " the net income of a representative family of two full-time workers and other members of the family working occasionally in the field would be approximately £1 a week . . . . on which to maintain seven or eight persons." Their home would probably consist of scrap material for which no rent is, or could be, paid. They would probably own the land, but on mortgage. The market-gardeners are little better off. " The typical Indian market-garden family of to-day cultivates a small plot of low-lying alluvial ground on an intense but primitive basis, and on a monthly or yearly lease with no security of tenure. Insecurity is increased by the encroaching industrial or residential areas. Largely illiterate, and with a low standard of living, such a family lives congested in a poor sort of temporary shanty without adequate water supply, lighting, or sanitation—a favourable breeding ground for diseases such as dysentery." One in every two Indian deaths is of a child under fifteen. In consequence the plantation labourers and the handcraftsmen have in recent years been becoming factory hands. Indian industrial employment doubled between 1915 and 1937, and the Indians in Durban trebled to increase the Indian population of the city to 90,000. But the average wage of the Indian workers in the sugar mills is below £3 a month and although certain Indians who have managed to become members of Trades Unions may be paid from £7 to £18 a month, the average remains about £5 a month since most of the skilled trades remain closed to them. In these circumstances the committee found that malnutrition was widespread among the Indian community in Durban and that a very large number of people are not even getting a sufficient quantity of food. For the same reason " the main characteristics of Indian localities in and near most Natal towns are that they are low-lying, often lacking in normal urban services and amenities and already overcrowded." Hence the impulse to find better accommodation in the towns and to demand better educational and health facilities. It was this growing pressure of the masses of Indians on the Natal cities which created the psychological atmosphere for the " Pegging " legislation passed in the last session of Parliament to restrict the further penetration of Indians into the European urban areas of Natal although, paradoxically, such penetration as had occurred was not by the poorer Indians, but by a few wealthy members of the community seeking opportunities for the investment of their war profits in real estate. I have, however, sufficiently indicated that the conditions in the coloured areas near Cape Town are duplicated in the Indian areas near Durban.

10. In Johannesburg and on the Witwatersand generally the native replaces the coloured and the Indian, but the open veld does not offer to the natives any natural shelter such as the Cape Flats into which few whites have ever penetrated. Nor does the soil or climate of the 6,000 feet high Witwatersrand favour market gardening like the river valleys of Natal. The natives have, therefore, come to occupy old urban slums deserted by the whites or the less attractive fringes of the city between the various European suburbs. But these areas are no less deficient in all amenities than the coloured districts of Cape Town or the Indian quarters at Durban. I enclose a copy of the magazine, *Libertas*, which contains an article and many photographs of one of these areas, the suburb of Alexandra, north of Johannesburg. The captions to the photographs press home the points which I have already stressed as regards the Cape Flats and Durban: namely " 415 morgen of human misery but one of the most attractive investment fields in South Africa to-day, yielding well over 10 per cent ": " native family and their few sticks of furniture put into the street for non-payment of rent for this mud hut "—here there is no bush in which the tenant can take refuge from the rent collector and the rack-renting can be estimated from the fact that an acre will fetch up to £1,000, a higher price than in the wealthiest white suburb ": " that ooze, enriched with latrine seepage, creeps down this eroded gutter to the nearest donga ": " washing water often comes from slimy donga pools like this one, a few yards below the dead dog ": " water is laid on to standpipes in the streets, but wells like this are still Alexandra's main source of drinking supply "—and the dongas pollute them. Yet this particular township was originally built for European occupation and many of the houses are therefore superior in construction to what they would otherwise have been: even so only 702 of 4,276 houses are rated as habitable. From licences and rates the township obtains an income of £13,000, but it receives no assistance from the Provincial Administration or the Union Government, and has to provide, and naturally fails to provide, amenities for over 60,000 people. The average income of a native family at Alexandra is only £60 a year (as against the £80 of a coloured family at Cape Town) and of this rent averages £1 and bus fares to Johannesburg about 22*s.* a month: *i.e.*, the family has to live on £3 a month without any facilities for growing any of the mealies or

vegetables, or obtaining the cheap fish which eke out the diet of the coloured population of the Cape Flats. The consequence of these conditions is obvious: malnutrition is rife; in the year 1940/41 there were 496 infant deaths in the township against 397 births, and a serious epidemic is liable to break out at any moment.

11. A week or two ago the bus fares were to be raised from 4*d*. to 5*d*. a journey, and the natives successfully boycotted the buses, walking ten miles to the city instead. This caused so much disorganization owing to the late arrival of native porters and other staff that, although it had been declared that the increased rate was essential to the maintenance of the bus services, these were in fact resumed at the old rate. This strike was of more than local importance, for the municipalities have found that the easiest way of getting rid of native slums within the central districts of the towns is to build a so-called model township outside the town, the sums received for the valuable sites in the slum areas for conversion to shops, factories or flats for whites more than sufficing to pay the expenses of the removal of the slums and the rehousing of the natives outside the city boundaries. A successful example of a new native township of this sort is Atteridgeville, near Pretoria. The consequence for the natives, however, is that they have to spend a very large part of their pay on transport to and from their work, as well as losing much time each day, and that the opportunities for other members of their families to obtain casual or part-time employment are considerably reduced. The Native Affairs Commission of Enquiry at Johannesburg last year (see my despatch No. 294 of the 24th August* and my despatch No. 395 of the 9th November, 1942*) estimated that £7 10*s*. 0*d*. a month is required to keep a native family in an urban area of the Union in tolerable conditions, yet, as I have stated, £3 a month only is left to the native at Alexandra after he had paid for bus, house and transport. If decent houses can only be provided for natives ohtside the built-up areas of the towns, then it is logical that the rent which they pay should be reduced at least to the extent of their transport expenses. So far, however, there is little sign that this has been recognized. The Johannesburg Municipality does not even run buses to Alexandra, but, since it is outside the city boundaries, leaves the manner of transport to private companies, whose sole interest is to make a profit.

12. The Union Government Housing Act enables municipalities to borrow money from the Government at low rates of interest for the provision of sub-economic houses, but Johannesburg has so far only borrowed (and has not used) £32,000 for this purpose. One city, Port Elizabeth, has indeed borrowed £750,000, and I have already reported to you on the admirable work done in this city to rehouse the native and coloured people; but Port Elizabeth so far stands alone. One of the consequences of existing housing conditions at Alexandra is that the health of the inhabitants is deteriorating; another consequence, as on the Cape Flats and at Durban, is the growth of crime, since crime offers one of the few possibilities of supplementing their incomes. The brewing and sale of "Skokiaan" parallels the shebeens of the Cape Flats. Stolen property of all sorts finds a ready market, and within the township limits alone there are over 700 arrests each month, eighty for serious crime. Gang terrorism is rampant. The last action of the late Professor Hoernle, who died in July, was to prepare a letter from the Alexandra Health Committee to the Minister of Public Health recommending not the removal of the inhabitants to new and distant locations like Orlando (see my despatch No. 238 of the 10th December, 1941†) at a cost estimated to be £3,000,000, but the provision of the £1,000,000 which the Committee considered essential for rehabilitating the suburb. Meanwhile, these Committees' only hope is to be allowed to engage in municipal trading and their suggestions are a grim commentary on the possibilities. They recommend: "the disposal of sewage as fertiliser; the sale of Kaffir beer; and the provision of undertakers' services."

13. There are, therefore, within or immediately adjacent to the three principal cities of the Union suburban slum areas inhabited by coloured, Indian or native people in which conditions of squalor, malnutrition and disease obtain with which the worst slums in the United Kingdom cannot compare. Moreover, there are whole districts inhabited by poor whites in which the houses, while better spaced than in an English slum, consist of one storey bungalows of shoddy construction, where lack of paint and the resemblance of the spaces round the houses to rubbish dumps proclaim acceptance by the inhabitants of their failure to continue the struggle for better things. The employment in such houses of the poorest type of native servant girl and the ever-presence of the prolific insect life of Africa quickly result in the growth of a degree of squalor in home life which would shock most poor but cleanly English working men's wives. With enterprise and training the white working man can command wages and living conditions for his family better than those available to him in the United Kingdom, but without these he is faced with the competition of native and coloured labour ready to work for infinitely lower wages and may be driven to live in conditions which in their unfamiliarity would weigh more heavily on him than on a South African. Unfortunately, too, the lower strata of the white population of South African cities are continually being recruited from the 300,000 poor whites of the country districts who have been accustomed to no better conditions in the way of accommodation, cleanliness, or even diet on the farms on which they have been living as squatters or "bywoners," but who have had on their farms the open spaces and sunshine which have contributed so much to the maintenance of their health. On the farms, moreover, they had neither the necessity nor the opportunities for spending which beset them on every hand in the cities. Apart, therefore, from those qualities of enterprise and determination with which they may be blessed and whatever mechanical or industrial training the man may have had, an English working class family migrating to South Africa and attempting to establish themselves in a city will be faced with the handicaps of competition from underpaid coloured labour and the rivalry of lowly paid white labour already possessing the advantage of familiarity with the local conditions. I would therefore stress that in any consideration of the type of migrant to be encouraged to settle in the Union on demobilization or in the post-war years, due consideration should be given to the fact that it is only the skilled artisan who has a reasonable prospect of employment in a responsible position, i.e., dealing with skilled processes which cannot be left to non-European labour or involving the supervision of native labour and therefore a reasonable prospect of maintaining his family in a way which will be

* G. 264/135: not printed. † No. 12.

tolerable to them. For such men opportunities exist here of advancing themselves to a degree which might well be beyond them in the United Kingdom, but even so no attempt should be made to paint a rosy picture of the conditions which they will find—the prospect of success after hard work, a prospect which will depend not only upon the man, but upon his wife, upon whose adaptability much will depend, is the most that should be held out. A certain degree of familiarity with the conditions to be expected is, of course, the ultimate desideratum, and we are fortunate that this, as well as the requisite qualifications of skill and training, exists among the Royal Air Force aircrews at the Air Training Schools in the Union. General Smuts has recognized their special fitness for post-war settlement in the Union, and has more than once expressed the hope that many of them will ask to be demobilized here. For their part the Union authorities, though anxious for many reasons to stimulate immigration after the war, are unlikely to do so in the first year or two after the war. The problem of demobilizing from the Union Forces 200,000 whites and 100,000 natives is certain to present problems to the administrative machine which will tax its limited capacity to the utmost, and the claims of the South African ex-soldiers to immediate employment and adequate accommodation are likely to reinforce the natural tendency to postpone for the time being any schemes likely to complicate the problem they will present. Those in the United Kingdom responsible for post-war settlement in the Dominions will not therefore be asked hastily to produce large numbers of settlers for the Union, and it will be desirable for them to choose carefully those to be sent here. The success of such limited emigration as may be possible will be the best guide in sketching the lines of more ambitious schemes once the Union's own demobilization problem has been solved. I feel sure, however, that either at the end of the war or in the measurable future it would be wrong for any British Government to hold out to unskilled urban workmen rosy prospects of successful settlement in the Union.

I have, &c.,

HARLECH,

High Commissioner.

G.-689/16.

No. 15.

DESPATCH

from

HIGH COMMISSIONER IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA FOR HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

(Received 8th May, 1944.)

(South Africa.)

(No. 146.)

My Lord, Cape Town, 19th April, 1944.

I have the honour to report that the Annual Report of the Activities of the Union's Native Affairs Department for the financial year 1943-44* has just been published, and I think that the Dominions and Colonial Offices, and Lord Hailey's Research Committee, may be interested to have the following summary, together with my comments, on some of its more salient features.

2. The report is a long one and somewhat inchoate in form, and I have endeavoured to cover only some of the more significant of its features.

3. The report is prefaced by a short introduction signed by Mr. D. L. Smit, the Secretary for Native Affairs. In this he draws attention to the three major problems.

1. *Overstocking and Deterioration of Fertility in the Existing Native Reserves.*

On this he writes:

"The overstocking of the native areas still presents a major problem, and while this state of affairs obtains the Department's efforts at raising the quality of native stock and restoring the land continue to be local in character and limited in effect. But, owing to the association of cattle in their social and national life the masses of the natives are strenuously opposed to any reduction and desire to be let alone. The same hostility to measures for protecting land is apparent, and in one district where large sums of money have been spent on land reclamation the Department has been obliged to enforce its regulations in the face of native opposition which culminated in open defiance of the law. For many years the Department has been alarmed at the serious deterioration of the native reserves and has done its utmost by education and demonstration to carry the people with it in its efforts at remedial improvement. The response has been disappointing."

On this I would comment that the failure of the Union in this matter is in marked contrast to the success in recent years of our Basutoland Administration both in the control of stock and works measures designed to arrest soil erosion. This success has been due in the main to the existence of a recognized Native Authority with powers to enforce the necessary remedial orders in its own courts, and to the good co-operation of the Native Authority with the European Administration in such matters.

* Not reprinted.

2. The drift of Natives to the Towns.

" The drift of natives to the towns, which has been hastened by military undertakings and industrial expansion since the war, has brought with it many new problems and much criticism. The natives attracted by higher wages are migrating in large numbers from rural to industrial centres, where although their labour is much in demand neither the local authorities nor employers have been able to provide housing or control. In the case of the Cape Peninsula where wages have risen in some undertakings to 9s. a day this influx has been most marked."

On this I comment that in urban and even more in peri-urban areas the voluntary and uncontrolled influx of male natives not merely from the Union but from places as far distant as Nyasaland has led to indescribable crowding and bad sanitary and living conditions in most centres of wartime industrial expansion.

In this connexion Mr. Smit reports that the Central Housing Board has recently earmarked £1,500,000 for additional native housing at Cape Town, and he suggests that a possible solution to this migration is the creation of industries with settlements in or near the reserves, but the difficulty is to determine what industries can be profitably and successfully adapted to the skill and circumstances of natives living in reserves or rural areas away from the cities.

I comment that the location of industry depends on facilities for transport, coal, water and electric power, and it is inevitable that industry increases in those places such as the Rand, Pretoria, Vereeniging, Cape Town, Durban and Port Elizabeth where these necessary facilities have been built up.

3. Cost of Native Housing.

Mr. Smit reports that " the Department is concerned at the rising costs of construction. The cost of simple dwellings for natives has risen out of all proportion to the country's means, owing largely to the use of European skilled and semi-skilled labour at high wages to do this work. In a recent scheme put forward by the Cape Town Municipality the estimated average cost of a native dwelling was £789."

My comment on this is that as long as the European Trades Unions insist on native dwellings being built with white labour—particularly at the present high rate of wages for an output of work far lower than that effected by similar labour in Great Britain, the cost of native housing in South Africa will remain utterly uneconomic, having regard to the rent which the occupier (of any race or colour) can possibly afford to pay. In Bloemfontein where native labour is employed to build not only the native dwellings but all buildings in the native municipal location the natives are able to get better houses and amenities at a fraction of the cost of those erected in most urban areas by European contractors compelled to employ European labour.

4. From the main body of the report I extract the following.

The extent of scheduled " Native Area " under the Native Land Acts, and under the control of the Native Land Trust now stands at:—

	1,215,850 morgen in the Transvaal.
	6,255,980 morgen in the Cape Province.
	3,000,200 morgen in the Natal.
	74,290 morgen in the Orange Free State.
Total	10,546,320 morgen in the Union as a whole.
..	(A morgen is rather more than two acres.)

This leaves remaining to be purchased under General Hertzog's Act No. 18 of 1936 a further—

	2,446,299 morgen in the Transvaal.
	1,195,131 morgen in the Cape Province.
	423,742 morgen in the Natal.
	37,794 morgen in the Orange Free State.
Total	4,102,966 morgen in the Union.

It will be remembered that the further purchase of land for natives out of the central exchequer of the Union was suspended for the duration of the war in May, 1940. On this the report notes as follows: "An increasing body of private investors is paying inflationary prices for farming land." I would remind you in this connexion that the recent report of the Union's "Agricultural Reconstruction Committee" drew attention to the fantastic increases in the price of agricultural land in South Africa that have ruled during the war resulting in gross " over-capitalization " of rural land values. Further, in this connexion the report of the Native Affairs Department states " Unless the occupation of land is limited to its carrying capacity, both as regards human beings and stock, there can be no solution to the great evils of soil erosion, denudation of the veld and malnutrition. It is accordingly necessary to accept the principle of preserving the land first and foremost, and to plan from that principle . . . . In this connexion it may be mentioned that apart from the congestion in the Reserves the incidence of illegal squatting by natives on European and other privately owned farms . . . . is widespread . . . . It has, however, not been practicable to take any action owing to the fact that there is no land available for the accommodation of natives who would be displaced."

" Soil conservation has unfortunately been neglected during the war mainly owing to shortage of staff and lack of fencing material " (and other equipment). " The difficulty of dissuading natives from following with wheat on maize and kaffir corn instead of cereals following with wheat on beans, cowpeas or potatoes is still a very real one." . . . . " It has not been found possible to extend the area cultivated to peanuts very materially, partly because the seed was rather expensive, but mainly because some native tribes do not take kindly to this crop. It is a great pity as the peanut is adapted to a very large variety of soils and divergent crop areas in the Union, and as a food for vegetarians it is not readily equalled."

5. AGRICULTURAL SCHOOLS.—Fort Cox. " The number of students applying to take the (two year) diploma course at Fort Cox increases each year and many have to be refused admission . . . . Accommodation is taxed to the utmost capacity. Natives completing the course have been readily absorbed as Agricultural demonstrators, etc."

6. IRRIGATION.—" This year again the value of irrigation schemes has manifested itself . . . . the natives showing greater keenness than ever to obtain plots under irrigation . . . . The result is that crop yields from these schemes are equal to those obtained by the Europeans. This fact dispels the belief that natives are incapable of making good use of land under irrigation." (Detailed figures of many of these new irrigation schemes for natives are given in the report.)

7. NATIVE WAGES.—A few examples are given of the *weekly wage minimum* now earned by natives in the principal cities:—

Industry or Trade.	*Cape Town.* £ s. d.	*Port Elizabeth.* £ s. d.	*Durban.* £ s. d.	*Johannesburg.* £ s. d.
Building	2 2 2	1 14 6	1 2 0½	1 8 0
Dairy Trade	1 6 0	1 6 0	1 2 0	1 4 0
Engineering Industry ...	1 14 6	1 7 0	1 1 0	1 3 11½

But over and above these minimum rates there are cost of living allowances varying on the retail price indices and not included in the above.

8. NATIVE UNREST.—"A notable feature of the past twelve months was the wave of unrest amongst certain natives employed in Johannesburg and Pretoria, over such matters as the increase in bus fares (and similar grievances) . . . . Arising out of the disturbances at Johannesburg and Pretoria, informal recognition has now been accorded by the Municipalities to certain organizations of native workers."

My comment on this is that though *de jure* recognition of Native Trades Unions is still withheld, the Municipalities of Johannesburg and Pretoria have in fact recognized them (though not explicitly) for the first time.

9. LOCAL GOVERNMENT.—The year marks important changes in the constitution of the United Transkeian Territories General Council. (This is the famous 50-year old " Bunga " at Umtata.) Councillors are now to be elected for a period of three years instead of only one year as hitherto. The Council has been given power to raise—if it thinks fit—additional rates, and a number of new duties and powers have been conferred upon it.

10. EMPLOYMENT OF NATIVES.—The following table is of interest as showing the territorial origin of native labourers in employment in " Labour districts " in the Union on 30th September, 1943:—

	Union Natives.	*H.C. Territory Natives.*	*Mozambique Natives.*	*Nyasaland and other Tropical Natives.*
Gold mines	151,211	56,348	80,551	20,074
Coal	18,813	4,584	13,728	1,934
Other industrial employment	201,533	19,120	398	8,236
Total	371,557	80,052	94,677	30,244

In comparison with the corresponding figures for 30th September, 1942, there is a substantial decline in the numbers employed on the Gold Mines, little change on the Coal Mines, and a substantial increase in " other employment."

11. NATIVE EDUCATION. The growth of public expenditure on Native Education has continued to expand. The amount so spent in the year

1933-34 is given as	£575,900
1939-40 is given as	£902,318
1942-43 is given as	£1,425,904
1943-44 is given as	£1,670,452

From this it will be seen that Government expenditure on native education has trebled in the last ten years. In addition to the above annual charges (grants, salaries, etc.) a further £440,000 has been provided for the erection of new school buildings since the outbreak of war.

12. HEALTH OF THE PEOPLE. The report states: " The inadequacy of medical services for natives continues to be viewed with anxiety by the Department . . . . Hospital facilities" which are few) "have been provided mainly by the various missions to whom the Department continues to give financial support. During the current year the Trust has made available for this purpose a sum of £62,470 . . . . Some fifty clinics serve the Transkeian Territories (an increase). Excluding Umtata district " (under the supervision of one whole-time medical officer) " forty rural clinics are being staffed by thirty-two native nurses, but this service is by no means sufficient to meet public needs. . . . . There is a growing incidence of Typhus in the Transkei."

My comment on this is that the utterly inadequate provision of both curative and preventive medical services for natives in the Union's Reserves is still the worst feature of the Union's native policy and administration. However, the report of the Parliamentary Commission on Public Health, which has been at work for over eighteen months, is expected toward the end of May. Much evidence was tendered to this body by the Native Affairs Department and by others on the very unsatisfactory provision of hospitals, clinics, medical and subordinate staff throughout the native areas, and we must await this report. Elementary health statistics regarding the incidence of disease, mortality, etc., among the human population are not available, though such statistics exist in some elaboration in regard to livestock, and are provided regularly by the well organised and extensive Veterinary Department. Such qualified medical practitioners as are available in the Native

Reserves—and they are few—are mainly dependent on individual fees obtained from private practice. There is little or no training (other than of a few female nurses) of native subordinate medical personnel. Control and treatment of epidemics, of the spread of tuberculosis, etc., is virtually non-existent and the provision of hospitals and hospital beds exiguous in the extreme. The number of schools and qualified native school teachers is steadily expanding, but the provision of medical services shows no such corresponding increase, while responsibility for such is divided between the Central Government, the Provincial Councils, Municipalities and other local bodies and missionary enterprise without as yet any effective co-ordination or provision by any. The native population permanently in the Union Reserves is not precisely known but is assumed to be at least 3,000,000 and in spite of the grave inadequacy of medical services, is said to be increasing. The failure of the Union in regard to native public health is in marked contrast with the great progress made in quite recent years in this matter by Sir Godfrey Huggins' Government in Southern Rhodesia.

I have, &c.,

HARLECH,

High Commissioner.

(d) Visit to South West Africa

G. 581/1/9.

No. 16.

DESPATCH

from

HIGH COMMISSIONER IN THE UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA FOR HIS MAJESTY'S GOVERNMENT IN THE UNITED KINGDOM.

(Received 9th June, 1944.)

(South Africa.)

(No. 198, Confidential.)

MY LORD, Pretoria, 25th May, 1944.

I have the honour to report that at the suggestion of General Smuts and on the invitation of Colonel Hoogenhout, the Administrator, I have just paid a visit to South West Africa. The Union Government placed a military plane at my disposal piloted by Colonels Louw and Bronckhorst. I was accompanied by my private secretary, Mr. Fraser.

I. *NARRATIVE.*

1. We left Pretoria early on the morning of Saturday, the 13th May, and arrived at Maun, the Administrative centre of Ngamiland in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, for lunch. We flew over the southern shores of the Great Makarikari Pan, and whereas during my flight this time two years ago this " dead sea " was waterless, on this occasion it was a vast lake. The rainfall in January and February this year in the northern parts of the Bechuanaland Protectorate was the highest recorded for many years which became the more evident from the exceptional height of the Maun River. The present flood is due entirely to the local rainfall as the Maun River will not reach its maximum height until the end of July when the flood which entered the great swamps to the north-west from Angola early in March will seep through in its course to the Great Makarikari Pan. Maun was cut off from all vehicular communication with the outside world for nearly three months and the getting of essential supplies and materials to Ngamiland has been a most difficult business, but happily that difficulty is now practically over as the waters are beginning to dry up. When I was at Maun two years ago the main trouble then was an outbreak of sleeping sickness caused by the spread of the tsetse fly out of the swamps into the adjoining inhabited area. However, this has abated for the time being, but owing to the exceptional rains this recent summer there has been a great deal of malaria, most of the European staff and still more of the natives having been fever stricken. The main trouble this year in Ngamiland has been the outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease among the cattle. The police are still maintaining effective cordons to prevent illicit movement of cattle, and the Veterinary Department have been busy inoculating and establishing quarantine camps. It would appear that the disease is now effectively under control, and though the Union Government and South West Africa still prohibit the export of cattle and cattle products either to the Union or to South West Africa, the export of slaughter cattle to the Zambezi for railing to the Copperbelt and Northern Rhodesia has been resumed under suitable controls. The people hardest hit by this outbreak are probably the European ranchers in the Ghansi district between Lake Ngami and the South West African border who have been unable to sell their cream to the Butter Factory at Gobabis, the eastern railhead for South West Africa. Mr. Cairns, the District Commissioner, informed me that Chief Moremi of the Batawana, is improving and that both the Native Administration and the Native Treasury are getting on to a better footing. Curiously enough it has been decided that the Tribal Treasurer shall be Chief Moremi's wife; she is an educated member of the Baralong Tribe from Bloemfontein whom he met as a school fellow when he was at Tiger Kloof, and is in many ways the better " man " of the family.

2. After the usual talk to Chief Moremi and his principal Councillors about local affairs I spent the night at Maun and took off early the next morning, landing for a short time at Gobabis. We arrived at Windhoek in time for lunch on the 14th May, where I was met at the aerodrome by Colonel Hoogenhout and the principal military and civilian officials of South West Africa. I was welcomed, too, by two Guards of Honour, one formed by the local National Reserve Volunteers

(Europeans), and the other by natives (Ovambos), while on the steps of Government House I also inspected a Guard and Band of the local Boy Scouts. I stayed Sunday to Tuesday nights with the Administrator and his hospitable wife at Government House. The Executive Committee and Advisory Council for South West Africa happened to be holding their monthly meeting at Windhoek at the time of my arrival, and on Monday night, Colonel Hoogenhout gave a large dinner party at which I met the personnel of these two bodies as well as some of the principal citizens.

3. On Monday, the 15th, accompanied by Mr. Williams, the Chief Veterinary Officer, I visited the Central Government Farm at Neudamm, about 25 miles north-east of Windhoek. This is a cattle improvement farm and the central karakul sheep station where high grade pedigree stock is bred for periodical sales to South West African farmers. The pedigree cattle herds consist of Aberdeen Angus, English Shorthorns and Red Polls. The first named clearly do extremely well in South West Africa. Karakul sheep are not impressive to look at but they seem to thrive in the driest and most inhospitable conditions and their lambs produce the valuable pelts which are the " black diamonds " of South West Africa.

4. On Tuesday morning, the 16th, I was taken round the town of Windhoek by the energetic Mayor, Mrs. Bell, and the Town Clerk, Captain Kirby, to see the municipal institutions. Windhoek is the capital and the only large town in the territory with a population of approximately 6,000 Europeans and 6,000 non-Europeans. The municipality is extremely progressive and well managed, balancing its budget at about £120,000 a year. After luncheon I was taken by Colonel Hoogenhout round the Government buildings and introduced to all the Heads of Departments, and inspected the Chamber of the Legislative Assembly, the headquarters of the Veterinary and Agricultural Department, the Police Headquarters, and the Post Office.

5. On the morning of Wednesday, the 17th, we took off in the plane for Ondangua, the Administrative capital of Ovamboland, about 350 miles due north of Windhoek, and some 2,000 feet lower in altitude. We crossed over the Etosha Pan, another saline internal sea resembling the Makarikari Pan, fed by local rain storms in the summer and by water coming down from the highlands of Angola. Its shores constitute a Game Reserve swarming with various kinds of antelope, zebra, ostriches, etc., wildebeeste and springbok also, not in hundreds but in tens of thousands. The most fascinating sight from the air were the gemsbok (oryx), perhaps the most handsome of all the larger antelope species in Africa. In addition, the actual waters of the pan are the haunt of thousands of flamingoes which, as you approach, are white patches on the water but on rising into the air appear as long lines of vermilion pink. We reached Ondangua in time for lunch and stayed there three nights with Major Hahn, the renowned Chief Native Commissioner of Ovamboland. Major Hahn, a man of 59 years of age, born in the then Cape Colony, is the grandson of the first European missionary explorer to enter Ovamboland just over one hundred years ago. Major Hahn's wife is British, born in Basutoland, her father being an Anglican missionary there; he later became the first Anglican Bishop of South West Africa after the last war.

In the afternoon of the 17th we received a ceremonial visit from the local Chief and his Councillors, and I had the opportunity of learning from Major Hahn something of the history of his remarkable administration.

6. On the morning of the 18th we left by lorry fitted out with balloon tyres and chains for an expedition to Oshikango, the Government station on the Portuguese frontier in the extreme north of Ovamboland—quite a hazardous undertaking in view of the boggy state of the road. After luncheon there we paid a visit to the kraal of the local Headman—which in construction is the most elaborate in Ovamboland. There I met the other leading headman. The tribe is now Chiefless as the last Chief, who resided in Angola, got into serious trouble with the Portuguese authorities and was eventually deposed. The ceremonies which were picturesque in the extreme, involved the mutual consumption of considerable quantities of freshly brewed kaffir beer and the ceremonial parade of the chief Headman's thirteen scantily clad wives who had been oiled and ochred up for the occasion.

7. On Friday morning, the 19th, we started off by plane to see the Ruakana Falls on the Kunene River about 125 miles north-west of Ondangua. Next to the Victoria Falls these are the finest in Africa, the formation being somewhat similar though of course on a smaller scale. They are just over 300 feet high, the water falling over a fan-shaped precipice meeting at the bottom in a formidable narrow gorge which, unlike the Zambezi, rapidly broadens out into a wide valley. Owing to the exceptional rains this year the Kunene was still in flood. We then flew down the river valley for some sixty miles before turning south over the Kaokoveld. This is one of the most remarkable areas in Africa, being composed of a tangled mass of very broken mountainous peaks with jagged rocky tops and the steepest screes I have ever seen. The valleys between these mountains are fairly well wooded and bushed as they lead down to the Kunene, and are still the haunt of rhinoceros, elephant, lion and other carnivores. The Kaokoveld is interesting not only geographically and for its special fauna and flora, but also as the sanctuary of the more primitive type of Herero. This warlike, nomadic, purely pastoral Bantu tribe seems to have many similarities with the Masai of Kenya. Armed with long spears they have to protect themselves and their cattle (they are a purely pastoral and non-agricultural people) against the greater carnivora of Africa. Also in the Kaokoveld there are some settlements of Hottentots, said to be practically the only pure blooded Hottentots left in Africa, while on the west coast near the mouth of the Kunene are to be found the only surviving elements of the Strandlopers, the most primitive of all the sub-species of yellow Bushmen. Thence we turned back to Ondangua. Later in the day we went out in a car across rough veld for a brief hunt in which we secured a wildebeest and a few duck. Attempts to get near some springbok were a failure.

8. On Saturday morning we returned to Windhoek, travelling this time east of the Etosha Pan to Tsumeb where there is a copper mine and the north-eastern railhead of the South West African railway system, 150 miles by road from Ondangua. On Sunday morning we flew 500 miles south from Windhoek to Upington on the Orange River, over the full length of southern South West Africa, and, after lunching at Upington, a further 480 miles back to Pretoria.

II. *DESCRIPTIVE.*

9. South West Africa is a vast country, more than two and a half times the size of Great Britain. The total European population is a little over 30,000, one third of whom are still Germans. The number of Europeans whose first language is English or who are of British descent is only about 2,000. The overwhelming majority are therefore Afrikaans-speaking. The non-Europeans number about 300,000, and of these no less than 150,000 are Ovambos living in the single district of Ovamboland in the extreme north. The other African natives are Hereros, Damaras, Hottentots and Bushmen. In addition to these there are some thousands of coloureds, mainly Hottentot-European crosses, the most remarkable of whom are people who call themselves the Rehoboth Bastards and who have a Reserve and a community and life of their own. They even aspire to become an independent republic! Nobody knows how many Bushmen exist in South West Africa, as these live mainly in the Kalahari Desert and are indeed uncountable. They wander in pursuit of game and the scanty desert ground fruits which are their only means of subsistence, armed with a stone flint or iron knife and their poisoned arrows. Inevitably their hand is not only against game but against every man and all men's hand is against them as they are predatory folk of the most primitive type.

10. In effect South West Africa consists of a sparsely habitable spine running from north to south through the centre with formidable deserts on either side. Of the two deserts, that along the coast is the worse, for along it no rain falls and it consists of thousands of square miles of shifting wind-blown sand dunes penetrable only on camel. It must be remembered that the only rainfall which is obtained by South West Africa comes across Africa from the Indian Ocean. Owing to the bitterly cold Antarctic current that strikes its shores (forming mists, it is true), no rainfall from the Atlantic falls upon the territory. The only rivers which penetrate and traverse this western desert are the Orange on the south, the Kunene on the north and the Swakop which drains the highland basin round Windhoek and enters the sea near Walfish Bay. The southern port of the territory, Luderitz, the centre of the diamond industry, has no water supply whatever other than distilled sea water. No part of the southern half of South West Africa has an average rainfall of more than about five inches a year, but from just south of Windhoek northwards there is a great outcrop of high mountains, a few peaks rising to 8,000 feet, so that the average rainfall in Windhoek, which is 5,500 feet above sea level, is as much as sixteen inches a year. In fact the only really well watered part of South West Africa is Ovamboland which receives not only twenty inches a year but also the seepage of innumerable streams across its low-lying surface from the mountains of Angola to the north of the international border, all draining slowly into the Etosha Pan. The Windhoek mountains consist of very old orange sandstone built at sharp angles of mica schists and craters of long extinct volcanoes. In Windhoek itself most of the springs are extremely hot. The Municipality have an open-air swimming bath fed from one of these volcanic springs, the water smelling somewhat strongly of sulphur, and this has to be cooled down artificially to a temperature of about 90 degrees.

11. The geological and climatic conditions being as I have described, it is inevitable that the country is limited to extensive sheep and cattle ranching. For the most part vegetation is scanty even in Ovamboland which, where not cultivated, is scattered with palm trees and hardwood evergreen timber trees of some size.

12. The Ovambo, who form the majority of the Bantu population, are essentially an agricultural rather than a pastoral people and they have their own peculiar and special methods of cultivation. Their principal crop is bullrush millet, known as durra in the Sudan and locally in Ovamboland as omahangu. Kaffir corn is also extensively cultivated, and it is thought that rice cultivation in the numerous pans may be possible. Among the Ovambo the degrees of wealth are largely measured not by cattle but by a man's grain baskets, and in the art of basketry the Ovambo are second to none among African peoples. The baskets are so constructed that millet will keep as long as twelve years without deterioration.

13. The Ovambo are divided into seven distinct tribes on the South West African side of the border, and three other tribes living under the Portuguese in Angola. The international boundary actually goes through the middle of one of the most populous tribes. On the South West African side three of the tribes are still under hereditary Royal Chiefs, but the others have lost their Royal Chiefdoms and are governed by Councils of Chief Headmen. Succession is matrilineal, that is to say no sons of the Chief or Headman ever succeed to their father, but the sons of the Chief's or Headman's eldest sister become the accepted authority, with the result that the women of Ovamboland play a considerable part in the body politic. Unlike most other Bantu tribes, the payment of lobola by the bridegroom for a wife is unknown, though it is customary for the bridegroom to provide a single beast for slaughter at the marriage feast.

14. The pans in Ovamboland are full of fish (principally barbel) which constitute a considerable item in their diet. Whereas the Herero and Damara are armed with spears, the Ovambo are still armed only with bows and arrows, the latter large heavy steel or iron headed. Their wealth is not great except in grain; the Government tax on adult males is 5/- per annum in cash or two petrol tins full of millet grain. Whereas the Bechuana tribes have tended to concentrate in the tribal capitals or large native towns, the Ovambo live scattered in small single family kraals, each surrounded by its area of cultivated land and an area of grazing for their goats and little cattle. These kraals, including the rather more elaborate kraals of the Chiefs or Headmen where the tribal courts are held and ceremonial functions have to be performed, are customarily moved to a fresh place every six years; there being plenty of timber in the country the kraals are stockaded within and form complicated labyrinths.

15. Approximately ten per cent. of the Ovambo population, i.e., about 15,000 go out every year to seek work in Windhoek or other towns and on farms in the Territory. No native of South West Africa is permitted to go to work outside the territory—either to the Union or elsewhere—and as it is the traditional policy of the South West African Government to prevent detribalization no native is permitted to stay away from his reserve for more than two years without returning to tribal life and discipline.

16. In Ovamboland the Native Courts play a prominent part in the administration of the territories, and the only crimes which are reserved for European adjudication are those in which a capital sentence may be possible (murder, rape and treason). All other crimes and misdemeanours are dealt with in the chiefs' or Headmen's courts. The cadre of European officials, all picked men, supervising the Native Authorities is purposely kept as small as possible, but in spite of this Ovamboland is remarkably free from serious crime. The administration of agriculture and forestry laws is easily enforced by the Native Authorities and it is one of the most interesting and successful examples in Africa of the policy of Indirect Rule. Its success during the last twenty years has been due in no small measure to the individual personality of Major Hahn (and, I would add, his wife) who is undoubtedly the *de facto* Paramount Chief of all the Ovambo people, in their hearts and minds as well as by virtue of being their Native Commissioner.

17. Ovamboland is a flat country without mountains or even hills. It is tropical in character, sloping very slowly from north to south. Disease is a formidable problem, particularly malaria, as in the periods of summer rainfall the anopheline as well as all other varieties of mosquito breed in millions. At the same time of year owing to the soggy nature of the flat land ankylostomiasis (hook worm) is another cause of trouble. Bubonic plague is also epidemic as where large quantities of grain are stored it is inevitable that the rat population is high. Elaborate steps are taken to isolate outbreaks in order to prevent the plague becoming endemic and the people are periodically inoculated. Last year about 200 deaths were recorded from plague. Ovamboland can never be a white man's country.

18. To return to European enterprise. The present principal source of wealth in South West Africa is karakul sheep farming. The first ten karakul sheep and rams were imported from Bokhara in Central Asia in 1907. By 1924 the export of karakul pelts had reached 12,000 in a year, and by last year the export of these pelts had increased to the remarkable figure of over 2¼ millions. The pelt is the skin of a karakul lamb killed within twenty-four to thirty-six hours of birth, and may be worth anything from 15/- to £15 according to quality. They are used in the main for making light but warm fur coats for women in America, Canada and the European capitals. A really good karakul full length fur coat of high quality may cost anything up to £500, and South West Africa is now the principal world's supplier of this luxury commodity. The karakul sheep population of the country is now over 4,000,000.

19. Second in importance to karakul sheep farming is the export of beef or beef cattle to the Union of South Africa, and in peacetime to Europe. The three breeds favoured are Aberdeen Angus, Shorthorns and Red Polls. If the herds I saw at the Government Farm are anything to go by it would seem that the Aberdeen Angus are the most suited to the cattle ranching areas of South West Africa. Last year nearly 100,000 head of beef cattle were exported to the Union. The cattle population, apart from native cattle, is about 1¼ million. South West Africa also exports about 10,000,000 lb. of butter per annum.

20. The most valuable mineral output of the territory is diamonds which are found along the coast spreading northwards from the mouth of the Orange River. Gem stones are found in the south, and industrial diamonds farther north all along the coast. About £1,000,000 worth were exported last year. Other minerals of sub-economic value are vanadium and copper. South West Africa also has a remarkable range of beautiful marbles formed in the volcanic areas by the metamorphosis of limestone deposits. Before the war a considerable quantity of semi-precious stones—topaz, tourmalines, aquamarines—were exported and cut in Germany.

21. At the moment the finances of South West Africa are in good trim and the surplus balances to the credit of the Administration amount to over £1,500,000.

III. *POLITICAL.*

22. As I have stated above, the overwhelming majority of the European population are Afrikaans-speaking Afrikaners, a considerable proportion of whom have settled in the territory since 1919. Persons of German birth or descent still form nearly one-third of the total. Most of these are concentrated in the principal townships, e.g., Swakopmund, where they constitute 90 per cent. of the population. The fundamental political problems of South West Africa are the relations between the German population on the one hand and the Union and the local Afrikaner population on the other. Until the rise of Hitlerism in Germany it looked as if a fair proportion of the German population had become reconciled to South African rule, but as Hitler's power and propaganda increased so did the majority of the local Germans assume a more exclusive and indeed arrogant demeanour towards all other races. Genuine efforts were made by the Afrikaans population and the local Administration to break down this growing social and racial exclusiveness, but this policy of appeasement inevitably failed, the Germans insisting on their own schools throughout, even forbidding their children to play with non-Germans, in view of their often undisguised hope that the territory would once again become a colony of the Reich and all non-Germans cleared out of the country. Shortly before the present war the German Consul at Windhoek organized a veritable Gestapo, warning any Germans who showed any loyalty to the Administration or to South Africa that it would be the worse for their families and relations in Germany if they did not swear allegiance to the Nazi cause. Their treatment of the native populations before 1914, especially during and after the native (Herero) rebellions of 1904 and 1907, has left lasting and still strong antipathies against them on the part not only of the Herero but of the other Bantu tribes. Luckily in September, 1939, the Union Government acted with extreme promptitude by sending police and armed forces into the country. They seized the German Consulate before the documents could be destroyed and discovered an elaborate organization of military character throughout the German community. The documents fortunately provided the names of the key Nazis who were immediately interned. There are still over 1,400 South West African Germans incarcerated in internment camps in the Union, and even though the fortunes of war are now going in favour of the Allies, it is pretty clear that a good many of them are still die-hard in the extreme. In fact the burning political question in

South West Africa in the minds of all non-German Europeans is the permanent disposal and repatriation of all unassimilable Germans. At Police Headquarters I was shown some of the evidences of the German preparations—hand grenades, formidable bombs, fuses, detonators, made on German farms and in back premises, as well as some of the weapons that had been secretly smuggled into the country—probably through Angola.

23. The Administration have in recent years taken steps to insist that a second language, either Afrikaans or English, should be taught in the German schools and, though this was resisted by many of the leading Germans who desired to remain monoglot Germans, it has begun the process of making the youngest generation of Germans a slightly less exclusive element. One of the most regrettable features of the situation, I was informed, is that so many of the young Germans, especially males, who were born in South West Africa and had never been in Germany, are the most extreme in their Nazi views. I was also informed that a former prominent German in Windhoek, who has not been interned because he was thought to be more loyal to the Administration than most, said quite recently that even if Germany now loses this war she is certain to win the next and it was only a question of one or two generations before Germany would have South West Africa back.

24. It is in the face of this kind of thing that the vast majority of the people of South West Africa are so keen on the final termination of the Mandate and full sovereignty of South West Africa vested in the Union. In their minds the Mandate is associated with the continued preservation of German rights and interests and one of the grounds on which Germans in South West Africa resist the idea of South African assimilation and continue to preserve their German nationality.

25. The attitude of the Germans has had a remarkable effect upon the Afrikaner population, the oldest elements of whom went to South West Africa after the Boer War to get away from the Union Jack, and even in 1919 were largely composed of Afrikaners of Nationalist Party affiliations. At the last general election for the twelve members to be elected to the Assembly in South West Africa, ten seats were captured by the South West African Party, (in effect the Smuts Party), and only two by the Nationalist opposition, and of these two, one is a loyal supporter of the war effort and merely remains Nationalist by reason of long standing family tradition. A further effect that is evident in South West Africa is that there is now no racial feeling or animosity between the Afrikaner majority and the small minority of British racial origin. In fact the overwhelming majority of the English and Afrikaans-speaking population in South West Africa has now been genuinely united against the German menace. Further, there has been a steady growth of local South West African patriotism and a desire for increased local autonomy. To-day a large number of Afrikaners in South West Africa wish to keep altogether clear of Union party politics and devote their attention first and foremost to the welfare of South West Africa alone.

26. Another historical fact which tended to bring Afrikaners of previously rival political affiliations in the Union into a new unity in South West Africa and into unity with the English-speaking section was the personality of one of their Administrators, namely Mr. Albert Werth, now again a Nationalist Member of Parliament at Cape Town and one of Dr. Malan's leading henchmen. Not only did Mr. Werth, in spite of a strong Nationalist reputation, seek to curry favour with the German section of the population at the expense of his own kith and kin, but he even adopted, what is never popular with Afrikaners, a very ceremonial if not snobbish demeanour towards all sections of the community. Although it was absolutely wrong, he insisted that both he and his wife should always be addressed as " Their Excellencies " and he mounted armed sentries by night as well as by day outside his residence. This made him very unpopular with the Afrikaner farmers and he added insult to this injury by himself shooting protected species of game on their farms which they were not allowed to shoot, saying that as he was King in South West Africa he and he alone was allowed to shoot " Royal game." Many are the tales that I heard of Mr. Werth's extraordinary conduct and this conduct is not forgotten to-day. So far from succeeding in assimilating the Germans to Afrikanerdom Mr. Werth was assimilated by the Germans to Prussian manners.

27. South West Africa is singularly fortunate in its present Administrator, Colonel Hoogenhout, who has had a long administrative career in the Union, having been an Inspector of Schools in the Transvaal, Secretary to the Department of the Interior, and finally Chairman of the National Roads Board. A famous athlete in his youth, he is a man of strong character enlivened by a delightful sense of humour and exceptional gifts as a raconteur. That he is very popular with officials and unofficials and has identified himself enthusiastically with South West Africa is clear, and he is admirably seconded by a most charming, simple and hospitable wife.

28. The Administrator of South West Africa as head of the Government is responsible directly to the Prime Minister of the Union and to him alone, and he has delegated to him very wide powers and authority. But some constitutional progress has been made in South West Africa in the direction of democratic institutions. The Administrator has to work with an Executive Committee of four unofficial persons (and no other officials) elected freely by the eighteen members of the Legislative Assembly. These eighteen members consist of twelve elected by the enfranchised voters of the country and six nominated by the Union Government usually on the recommendation of the Administrator. The Administrator is a member of the Legislative Assembly but has no vote, the Assembly being presided over by an elected Speaker. He sits with the members of the Executive who jointly introduce all Government legislation and reply for Government. In effect the policy of the South West African Government,both general and departmental, is formed by the Administrator in Executive Committee. In addition to this Committee there is an Advisory Council whose functions are purely advisory. This consists of the Administrator, the Secretary to the Government, four members of the Executive Commitee and three additional nominated members elected to represent the special interests of (1) Native Affairs, (2) Mining, and (3) Trade and Industry. Before the budget is introduced by the Administrator in the Assembly the Advisory Council is consulted. Certain matters have to be referred to the Prime Minister of the Union whose decision is final. Both Executive Committee and Advisory Council meet regularly once a month. Except for the Administrator there are no heads of departments or other officials in the Legislative Assembly though the Secretary for South West Africa attends meetings of the Advisory Council. The Assembly

is elected for five years. It cannot be dissolved in the interim but its life can be extended on representations by a two-thirds majority of the Assembly and the subsequent approval of the Union Parliament sitting at Cape Town. The working of this system of Government has inevitably and probably rightly, led to the development of a keen local public life, and the whole community is now extremely jealous for its powers and its local autonomy. Above all, the elected members and members of the Executive Committee, while anxious to become an integral part of the Union of South Africa, do not wish to lose but rather to gain more local powers. Above all, they will not be content with the somewhat exiguous powers of the four Provinces of the Union under the Union of South Africa Act. They want the officials and departments in Windhoek to be their servants and the servants of the territory and not merely the projected emanations of the several Ministries and Departments at Pretoria. They want the sole links between South West Africa and the Union to be correspondence between the Administrator of South West Africa and the Prime Minister of the Union of South Africa and the Prime Minister alone, and with the Union Parliament as a whole.

29. I should perhaps make it clear that the South West African Government and Assembly have no control, nor do they seek it, over foreign affairs or defence. Both these subjects of Government activity are, and will doubtless remain, reserved to the Union Minister for External Affairs and the Union Minister of Defence.

30. The question of the future of the Police is somewhat controversial. At present the police in South West Africa are an integral part of the South African Police throughout the Union under the Union Minister of Justice. But South West Africa has to pay the full cost of the South African Police stationed in South West Africa and undoubtedly some of them would like to have their own police.

31. The journey by train or car from Windhoek to anywhere in the Union is long, tedious and expensive. The newspapers of the Union reach South West Africa many days late, so inevitably its own Press, its own special political and economic problems are uppermost in the minds of its inhabitants. The exercise during the last twenty years of a considerable measure of local autonomy makes the population determined to preserve and extend it. In fact South West Africa hopes to be a self-governing colony rather than a province of the Union. That it is a virile, friendly and intensely patriotic community (that is, patriotic for the interests of South West Africa), is obvious, and it possesses quite a number of able men who think first and foremost of South West Africa and its future. When comparing South West Africa with British dependencies I can only think of two analogies which fit the case, namely, Barbados and Kenya, always critical of remote bureaucratic control by men they do not know and who do not know them.

32. It was highly interesting to me to find that the European officials and leading unofficials in Windhoek are not merely proud of Major Hahn as a South West African of world-wide fame, but of South West Africa's own native policy and their determination to preserve their natives from further detribalization and to build up an efficient authority among the Native Chiefs or Native Councils. They are particularly anxious that they should continue with this policy and manage their own native affairs and not have them complicated by being merged in the Native Affairs Department of the Union of South Africa. They claim that the Union has now more to learn from South West Africa than South West Africa from the Union in all matters of native policy and administration and particularly inside the native reserves.

33. In so far as they have external interests, and being separated from the Union by the impassable Kalahari Desert, it is perhaps natural that their external contacts are mainly with Angola to the north and with the northern part of the Bechuanaland Protectorate, in both of which territories problems and conditions are more analogous to theirs than any part of the Union of South Africa. For example, there is a good deal of wishful thinking that the Windhoek—Gobabis Railway should be extended to Maun and that Ngamiland should be drawn more and more into the economic orbit of South West Africa, and indeed geographical considerations make this thought natural.

34. In such close contact as they are with the Hitlerite menace, it is not surprising that all sections of the population of South West Africa have responded keenly to the war effort, both by volunteering for combatant service in the Union armed forces, and in their remarkable voluntary contributions to war funds. A very high proportion of young Afrikaners of military age have volunteered for the army from South West Africa and many natives have enlisted in the Native Military Corps. The running of many a large ranch is being undertaken to-day by the women folk. The resettlement of their fighting men after the war is now the chief concern of the local Legislative Assembly and the Executive Committee. To this end a new tax has been imposed on companies and individuals owning large areas of land with a view to inducing early sale to the Government, and funds have been set aside for the survey and equipment of over five hundred new farms. Also under pressure of public opinion a new special Aliens' Tax has been recently imposed on non-Union nationals. The farmers have done well financially during the war and their generosity to war funds, especially the Red Cross and Prisoners of War Funds, has been unstinted. Both direct and indirect taxation are different in South West Africa from the rates obtaining in the Union. This fact undoubtedly adds to the complications of the absorption of South West Africa into the Union. Money is needed and could be profitably and advantageously spent in the further development —especially connected with improved water supplies—of South West Africa. Public opinion in the territory will be vigilant on such matters when the termination of the Mandate and the question of incorporation into the Union becomes practical politics.

35. In a country of such vast distances it was natural to find great interest in the development of civil aviation after the war. A number of good aerodromes already exist and there are already no less than seventeen Government wireless transmitting and receiving stations in different parts of the territory under control of the South West Africa postal administration, as land lines are very expensive both to provide and to maintain. It is obvious that if the Administrator and his heads of departments are to keep in touch effectively with the country and its inhabitants, aeroplanes are

their only satisfactory means of transport. The train journey from Windhoek to either Cape Town or Pretoria takes some seventy-seven hours—exactly ten times as long as I took to do the journey by plane.

36. I cannot conclude this despatch without saying how much I enjoyed and was stimulated by my week's visit to South West Africa. The warmth of my reception was obvious and genuine, and I am delighted that in my closing weeks as High Commissioner in South Africa I was able to make this visit.

I have, &c.,

HARLECH,

High Commissioner.

PART II—SOUTH AFRICA HIGH COMMISSION TERRITORIES

(a) Basutoland

Y. 1/72.

No. 17.

DESPATCH

from

HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR BASUTOLAND, THE BECHUANALAND PROTECTORATE AND SWAZILAND.

(Received 27th January, 1942.)

Basutoland.

(No. 453. Confidential.)

MY LORD, Pretoria, 11th December, 1941.

VISIT TO BASUTOLAND

I returned to Pretoria on 6th December after a fortnight's visit to Basutoland. It was perhaps unfortunate that this visit coincided with a period of exceptional heat and drought. I was informed on arrival that the screened thermometer at Maseru where scientific records are kept by the Agricultural Department showed at the very hour of my arrival a higher temperature than any recorded since the instrument was installed. While most of Basutoland had had good rains in October, the month of November was practically rainless. Ploughing had been generally completed and a good deal of the sowing, but the probability is, unless copious rains fall in the next fortnight, that the fields will have to be resown, and owing to the early autumn frosts in March and April, crops are likely to be very poor from such late sowings. The continuance of rain in the early summer is of exceptional importance to Basutoland as the Basutos are essentially an agricultural rather than a ranching people, and the cultivation of arable crops is of greater importance to their welfare than stock raising. Basutoland is a small country of about 11,000 square miles with a population of about 600,000 and only one third of the country is at all cultivable owing to physiographical and climatic conditions. This third, where the vast majority live and work, lies between 5,000 and 6,000 feet above sea-level and consists of broad valleys of sedimentary sandstone formation, excellent if rain comes at the right season for the growth of maize, millet, peas, and winter wheat. Two-thirds of the country lie between 6,500 and 12,000 feet above sea-level and are overlaid with hard uncultivable volcanic rock. In this two-thirds only the more open valleys which are entirely destitute of trees or even shrubs are susceptible of shallow cultivation with hard summer wheat of the Northern Canadian prairie types which can stand the rigours of Basutoland's mountain climate from October to March. Fortunately, however, much of this mountain country provides grazing for Merino sheep, Angora goats and the ponies for which Basutoland is famous.

Basutoland imports from the Union twice as many cattle as it exports and the cattle population of the whole country is still less than one beast per human being. Wool, mohair, wheat, peas—and in a good season maize, are the principal exports of Basutoland and the only things surplus to internal requirements. Arable land and arable cultivation are therefore of supreme importance to the Basuto nation, and any increase in the cattle population is dependent on arable fodder crops.

Soil erosion has obviously been the dominant force in shaping Basutoland since the beginning of geological time as is evident from the whole shape and character of its remarkable scenery. In the course of my tour in the lower arable country and in the mountains I can bear witness to the very remarkable progress made in the last five years by Government, Chiefs and people in the efforts undertaken to control and minimize the effects of the eternal problem of soil erosion. The campaign which happily still continues, and must never cease, is praiseworthy to all concerned.

On the economic side three other matters were brought vividly to my attention. First the improvement in quality, storage and access to all available water supplies for man and his domestic animals. The Basutos wisely live in small villages on the mountain and hill-sides wherever water from springs above the cultivable fields is available. The proper control and conservation of these springs is of the utmost significance to their lives and health. This too has been systematically and successfully tackled in recent years. Second in importance comes transport facilities. Roads are difficult and expensive to construct and maintain throughout the country and are quite impracticable

in the volcanic mountain area. Accordingly, bridle paths, as the pack transport routes are called, are essential. Our last camp in the mountain area was at about 7,500 feet. Thence we climbed to the pass leading through the great western mountain chain of the Maluti which looks down on the so-called lowlands. This pass was crossed at 9,000 feet and we rode down to our final camp at road head at 6,000 feet—the whole journey on horseback occupying some five hours by one of the new graded bridle paths. All goods, food, building material, firewood, etc., for the people living in the mountain areas have to be carried on animal back up such a route, and all wool and wheat have to be brought down to market by such a route. Until the new graded bridle paths were constructed with zigzags giving a grade not exceeding one in eight, the annual loss of animal life in crossing the few available passes, from exhaustion as well as from accidents was appalling. To-day I can bear witness that these new "highways" of Basutoland are conferring a tremendous benefit to the whole country and reducing the amount of suffering and cruelty to a minimum.

The third factor of importance is the improvement of the quality and value of all livestock—limited in quantity as this must always be by the conditions obtaining. Doubtless in the formative period of the Basuto nation under the great Chief Moshesh between 1820 and 1870 the Basuto were among the most noted and expert stock thieves in Africa. The miscellaneous results of this practice are still visible to-day in the herds of cattle and sheep. But to-day by Government and Tribal authority only pure-bred Merino rams are allowed to run with the sheep. Good pure-bred Afrikander bulls are bought by Government and distributed to the people. Good pack mules are the progeny of the Government donkey stallions and the native pony mares. Thoroughbred racing stallions owned by Government and even by some of the Chiefs are improving the quality of the universal means of human transport. The small Basuto pony is rightly famed for his hardiness, his endurance and his amazing sure-footedness. If ever the horse was the first friend of man it is in Basutoland. We rode every day for a week on our mountain tour, and at every village we were greeted by cavalcades of Basutos in their gay blankets mounted on their ponies.

The climatic conditions in the mountain region are severe, to say the least of them. The heat and brilliance of the sunshine by day require all the precautions against severe sunburn that are necessary in the high Alps. At sunset the thermometer falls catastrophically and the nights are bitterly cold even in summer. The diurnal range is always about 50° Fahrenheit. In winter, snow and ice lie on the slopes. In summer the volcanic rocks reflect the burning heat on all sides. The mountain Basutos, and there are some thousands of them, are among the hardiest and the most vigorous races of the world.

Geological survey confirms the non-existence of any likelihood of payable minerals of any kind whether in the volcanic uplands or the thick beds of friable sandstones in the so-called lowlands.

The turning point of our mountain tour was the Maletsunyane Falls where the river of that name hurls itself suddenly into a stupendous canyon. The first upper fall has a sheer drop of 630 feet and for some miles the river falls in successive cascades between precipitous cliffs a thousand feet high. Numerous grey-headed vultures and ravens circle over this abyss. The climb down a steep gully to the bottom of this ravine is a tiring and rather awe-inspiring experience, but the surroundings are of unexampled grandeur. The valley directly above the falls is wide and open, and considerably populated, with many wheat fields cultivated up to over 8,000 feet. There are two trading stores and a Roman Catholic Mission staffed by French Canadian priests who have installed a turbine flour mill in the bed of the Maletsunyane and show remarkable agility in vaulting on and off their ponies in their long black cassocks. They run an excellent school, and most of the surrounding Basutos are Catholics retaining a superstitious awe of the great snake which they firmly believe to inhabit the pool at the bottom of the great waterfall.

But while I have just outlined the fundamental, physical and economic basis of this unique little country I was more interested on this tour in getting a closer understanding of the structure of native society and their political and administrative system. This too is peculiar and in many respects dissimilar from that of other African peoples.

When about 1820, Moshesh emerged from obscurity near Butha-Buthe in Northern Basutoland, the population was but a handful of different tribal origins chiefly of Bechuana stock. Moshesh himself was a Bakwena, the tribe now centred in the Southern part of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. Throughout his life he moulded his mixed followers to his will and secured their survival by a mixture of skilful diplomacy and war. The Basutos are of very mixed stock—a nation and not a tribe. They had to fight for their existence against the Zulus, the Matabele, the Koranas, the Xosas, the trekking Boers, the Orange Free State Republic and more than once against the British. They knew little peace between 1820 and 1880 (the dates of the final or "gun" war). Periodic famines, when they reverted to cannibalism, reduced their exiguous numbers. But the traditions and organization invented by Moshesh—one of the most remarkable African leaders of all time, still subsist. The Paramount Chieftaincy of Basutoland is therefore of exceptional significance, and the prestige of the sons of Moshesh (now in the fifth generation) the cement which binds the nation together and has unique authority. Moshesh was not a chief by birth, and birth had little weight in his personal selection of councillors. Whereas Chaka, with the greatest cruelty turned the Zulus into a black Nazi horde, Moshesh required individual character and courage in the defence of each separate mountain top or in distant raids for cattle and the means of subsistence. But this remarkable man as early as 1832 invited the French Protestant Missionaries into his midst and established them at Morija, still the headquarters of the remarkable Paris Evangelical Mission who now for more than a century have been such an instrument for progress as for good among the Basutos.

In 1862 the French Roman Catholic Order of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate were admitted by Moshesh and the two most recent Paramount Chiefs and the present Paramount Chieftainess Regent are Roman Catholics. These two remarkable Missions have had a profound influence upon the Basuto. There are few native territories in Africa where education is more widespread or has gone further, both in technical and academic standards. The number literate in English is ever increasing, skilled craftsmen are being trained, and bursaries to Fort Hare Native College maintain a steady if small output of Basutos with a University degree.

Maseru, the administrative Capital but two miles from the Free State frontier, presents the visitor instantly and strikingly with a sharp contrast to conditions in the Union of South Africa. In Maseru the very idea of racial segregation is unknown. In shops and offices as well as in dwelling areas natives and Europeans mix unconsciously. No European owns a single morgen of land in Basutoland, not even the sites on which European trading stations (mostly staffed by Scotchmen or Australians) have been built with the approval of both Government and the Native authority. The few Europeans, Government officials, Missionaries and Traders are as proud of Basutoland and jealous for it as the Basutos themselves. The Mosuto, for an African, is exceptionally an individualist. What is often the tyranny of tribal customs and tribal taboos lies lightly if at all upon him and there is a combination of freedom, and self-assurance with cheerful politeness and good manners everywhere. I gained the impression that the Basuto are among the " happiest " people in the world.

They became British born subjects in 1868 and their loyalty and affection for the British Crown is something very real and deep seated. As His Majesty's representative I was everywhere greeted not merely with courtesy but real friendliness and enthusiasm by all ranks.

My special interest during the first week of my tour in the lowlands was to visit some of the principal Chiefs, inspect their Courts and Court records. The working of the new Native Courts Proclamation is of vital importance, more especially as considerable powers of criminal jurisdiction have now been delegated to the Native Courts. Briefly, there is now a complete and unified hierarchy of courts—from the court of a sub-Chief, to that of a principal Chief, thence to the Court of the Paramount Chief at Matsieng, with appeals therefrom to the District Commissioners' Courts or the High Court (the two latter sitting if need be with native assessors). The Court records, receipt books for fines levied, summaries of evidence, etc., are admirably kept by the Native Court Clerks. By tradition all Native Courts are held in the open—though the principal Court of the Paramount Chief is now an open sided hall with thatched roof. The actual trials in the Native Courts are only occasionally conducted by the Chief himself, more often by some person long practised in Court work and appointed by him. The trial of cases takes place in public and a miscellaneous and often large concourse of people (men only) form something like our jury. The sentence is for the Chief alone or for whoever is acting in his name. These Court functionaries like the Councillors or Messengers of the Paramount Chief are full " representatives " of the Chief and their decision or order or statement binds the Chief. Like other Africans, the Basuto are inclined to be litigious especially over land, rights, stock and property, and a good many appeals to higher Courts are undertaken. The four Courts of the Paramount Chief at Matsieng are busy places. But the institution of properly and uniformly kept Court records of all cases, open to inspection by the District Commissioners is already tending (so one superior Chief told me) to reduce the number of appeals. Praedial larceny in an arable agricultural country is a crime very heavily dropped on by native authority as is shown by the sentences I saw in some of the Court records.

We were accompanied throughout our tour of the mountains by two of the Paramount Chief's " Messengers ", Lerotholi Mojela, and Maama Lechesa, both also Councillors. This central authority consists of about twenty Councillors, some of them are also hereditary district chiefs of proved capacity and some not district chiefs or hereditary. Only one of these central Councillors who are nominally the personal selection of the Paramount Chief (but in fact co-opted like a board of directors of a company) is a woman. This is a recent innovation. The hereditary Chief of the Rambantas district died leaving an infant son. His younger brother in such circumstances would be the normal Regent, but the " people " thought poorly of him and with the approval of the Paramount Chief selected the widow, by name Makapoi, as Regent. She now acts with full powers as Chief of the district and has also been made one of the Council of the Paramount Chief. She performs her many duties with success, esteem and distinction. When we reached her village she was drawn up with her people wearing a bright yellow dress and a " picture hat " astride her pony.

I met a number of Chiefs in their own villages. They vary in quality. Some are obviously able, well educated men. I was also glad in more than one instance to find the sons, several of whom had been to Lovedale or the Government High School, helping their fathers and learning their future duties.

By chance my visit coincided with some trouble in the African Auxiliary Pioneer Corps. A considerable body of new recruits from the Butha Buthe district who had enlisted absconded from the camp at Maseru after a few days in the army. They not only went home but went into rebellion, robbed and used violence and were for a few days thoroughly out of hand. They threatened to kill Kueni, the local sub-Chief. I met Kueni and was not impressed by him. He appeared rather a " poor " creature for a Mosuto and still more for a Chief. However, he played up, donned feathers and a battle axe and rounded up the insurgents. These were ceremonially ticked off by " messengers " from the Paramount Chief; the vast majority have returned to camp at Maseru, and the few who committed crimes are being " cooled down " quietly in Maseru gaol. Doubtless the whole proceeding may be a bit shocking to the English military mind, but I have little doubt that the Butha-Buthe companies (men from that district have always been rather truculent) will be excellent soldiers in the Middle East. Native authority was challenged and vindicated, and the incident had best be tactfully closed in that manner. The Basuto with their independent, polite but rather truculent character, and with their stormy history, are not angels or easy, docile people. It is all the more necessary therefore that the Native authority should be both real, effective and constitutional. Above all it should and does work in real co-operation with the European government who should in turn work through it and wherever possible—that usually—avoid any appearance of superseding it. It is not only in matters of law and order that this pays. In recent years a noxious weed, the sehalehale bush, has been invading the mountain slopes and diminishing the grass. If grazing is continued in such an area all grass will disappear. The European Agriculture Officer told me that the local Chief had come forward and suggested the closing of an infested valley to all grazing pending the scientific eradication of the weed. The Chiefs are almost without exception keen and progressive farmers themselves and keen stock improvers. Native authority is thus harnessed as an instrument of progress.

The proof of the pudding is in the eating. The native population of Basutoland shows a steady increase—218,000 in 1891; 347,000 in 1904; 563,000 in 1936. These figures exclude the Basuto who are stated to be absentees at labour centres in the Union, ranging from 70,000 to 100,000

Wealth has increased even more strikingly. In 1884 Hut and Poll tax yielded £8,000. In 1907–8 £65,000 and in the current financial year £195,000. Traders told me that the purchasing power of the natives for blankets and other imported goods has been steadily rising.

The day after my arrival I inspected and took the salute at a March Past of about 3,000 officers and men of the Basuto Companies of the African Auxiliary Pioneer Corps in companies at Walkers Camp, Maseru. The Paramount Chieftainess Regent attended. It was an excellent parade and the camp discipline was really admirable. Several of these companies left the next day for the Middle East. To date 11,955 recruits have been attested, and 6,300 have left Basutoland for Suez. Recruiting only opened in July this year. I feel that this is a record worthy of high commendation.

I had good reports of the Imperial officers recently arrived from England to command these native companies. All told me that they were an improvement on the first batch in quality. Doubt was expressed whether, in Basutoland where the number of potential English-speaking educated native non-commissioned officers is considerable, the European non-commissioned officers from England were much help or are really needed. Colonel Charnock, the Officer Commanding, has done admirably and works in well with the Basutoland Government.

The total male European establishment of the Basutoland Government—all departments—is only 125. Of these, 35 have joined the forces, the Royal Air Force, the United Defence Forces, or the Basutoland Auxiliary Pioneer Corps. This necessarily lowers the efficiency and capacity of the Civilian Government who are at the moment skeletonized in every department. The burden on the remaining district officers in particularly heavy.

During my visit Chief Bereng Griffith became very seriously ill. He had been present at Maseru Bridge with the Paramount Chieftainess on my arrival—but suddenly developed what was diagnosed as deep-seated pneumonia. I gather he is now on the road to recovery. But the incident will not be unmarked in the native mind. For Chief Bereng is and may continue to be a difficulty. He was the favourite son of the favourite wife of Paramount Chief Griffith who reigned from 1913 to 1938, but he was not the son of the principal wife. He, Bereng, hoped for the succession and was encouraged in his hope by his father and it was a bitter disappointment to him when Seeiso, his half brother, was chosen as Paramount Chief by the " Chiefs and Councillors ". When after a year Seeiso died suddenly many accused Bereng of poisoning him—almost certainly without foundation. Bereng hoped in turn to be chosen Regent for Seeiso's infant son, the Paramount Chief presumptive but the present Paramount Chieftainess Mantsebo (Seeiso's principal wife but not the mother of the male heir, she has only one child, a daughter) was chosen by the Chiefs and Councillors. He is at present threatening to take an action against the High Commissioner for having contravened native law and custom by approving this nomination. Bereng is a remarkable personality and has a large following in his own district of which he is a principal Chief and is followed by a few of the other Chiefs. But the vast majority of the Chiefs and Councillors fear him and he is not generally popular. Inevitably the relations between him and the Paramount Chieftainess Regent are not all that they might be. However, on hearing of his illness she sent special messengers and behaved with tact and dignity and it is hoped that the incident may issue for good. Bereng is a " disappointed man ". Disappointed men of ability are always difficult and sometimes dangerous.

In times of peace, African Chiefs have nowadays to bow to public opinion, and in Basutoland public opinion is both real and vocal. The aristocracy of the house of Moshesh is a very real thing and is in fact the cement of the Nation and the fount of authority—but it is becoming steadily more constitutionalized. No man, whatever his right of birth, can dictate to the Basuto as a whole, still less to the nucleus of able leaders who have graduated in the experience of authority, courts and council.

I express the opinion that Basutoland will become an excellent example of indirect rule. The next step undoubtedly is the formation of a single Native Treasury and the better regulation through that Treasury of the emoluments of the hierarchy of Native Authority and their Native Civil Servants.

I had of course the opportunity of visiting several schools and missions in the course of my tour. There is a marked contrast between the Roman Catholic and Paris Evangelical Missions and schools. The former have a far larger European staff, more grandiose buildings and more money, and are more aggressive and pushing in their methods. The Paris Evangelical Mission has the great advantage in a native country of having married clergy and their families are as devoted as the men in the service of the people. The Roman Catholic primary and elementary schools are good, but when it comes to intermediate or higher education there is no doubt that the excessive hold of the priesthood over the native teachers saps their self-reliance and administrative capacity. Personally I have a protestant temperament, and although I admire the devotion and zeal of the Roman Catholic orders in the Mission field I cannot get away from the consciousness that their whole system is based upon the doctrine that only by conforming to the sacerdotal authority and the forms and ceremonies of the Church can there be any forgiveness of sins or any escape from eternal torture in the fires of hell in the next world. At Roma, the headquarters of the Roman Catholic Mission, I was struck by the very large number of European priests, brothers and nuns who have to be maintained and the very small number of native clergy. They have there a seminary—a gloomy place—for the training of native priests, but the obligation of celibacy, the wearing of the black cassock of the seminarist, the fourteen years course of Theology, Metaphysics and Thomian dialectic makes it inevitable that the number of Basuto priests who can be ordained will be very few for many years to come. The Roman Catholic Missions, too, are fearful and jealous of Government schools and Government education, which I regard as the essential supplement and higher tops to mission education.

One pleasing feature of all schools in Basutoland is the Basuto gift of song. Like the Welsh the Basuto have a store of traditional folk music, a natural gift for singing in parts, and in every varying rhythm and syncopation. Music is a very real asset in the life of the Basuto. The Government

High School—a boarding school—at Maseru for boys taking courses leading from Standard VI to Matriculation standard is a first class institution admirably run. It is hoped to provide shortly a similar parallel institution for girls.

It is unfortunate that the Church of England plays so small a part in the mission field in Basutoland. Basutoland is in the diocese of Bloemfontein and part of the ecclesiastical Province of the Union of South Africa. This fact is in itself sufficient to be a deterrent to the Basuto who have such a deep seated suspicion of anything and everything connected with the Union except such institutions as Lovedale and Fort Hare.

I also had the opportunity of visiting the Leper Settlement at Botsabelo. This institution is one of the most encouraging and successful leper settlements in the world under the devoted enthusiasm of Sir Walter Johnson, C.M.G. and his sister, Miss Johnson, M.B.E. It is not merely the medical work and successful cures that are effected, but the efforts to make life cheerful and happy for the patients that are so remarkable.

Finally, I must once again record what was impressed on me by many—namely the deep-seated opposition of the whole population of Basutoland to any change in their status under Great Britain or in the present forms of government both European and Native.

Basutoland has progressed and is progressing. Government and people are proud of their record of achievement in the last seven years, and my visit was throughout a personal pleasure and encouragement.

I have &c.,

HARLECH,
High Commissioner.

Y. 701/1/1.

No. 18.

DESPATCH
from
HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR BASUTOLAND, THE BECHUANALAND PROTECTORATE AND SWAZILAND.

(Received 12th January, 1943.)

Basutoland.

(No. 452, Confidential.)

Pretoria, 17th December, 1942.

SIR,

Basutoland is enjoying a wonderful climatic season. Good rains began in the middle of August and have continued at short intervals until now (mid-December). This points to the best agricultural year since 1934-35. Thanks to the drive for increased food production by the Government and Chiefs the area of Basutoland under plough crops at this moment is easily a record in the history of thecountry. One million acres are in arable cultivation this season and lands have been ploughed that have never been ploughed before. The wheat crop in both lowlands and highlands, the former being harvested this month is a record in both quantity and quality. The product is estimated at anything between 400,000 and half a million bags. Wheat is fetching 4s. a bag more than last year, and as more than half Basutoland's wheat production is surplus to local requirements, Basutoland's effort will be a real help to the Union bread supply as well as a source of increased income to the Basuto peasantry. Maize, kaffir corn, beans and peas were successfully sown early and are growing magnificently, whereas at this time last year owing to drought there was hardly a green thing to be seen. The mountain streams are running, the dams all full, the pasture green to the hilltops and cattle look sleek and in fine condition. There are about 120,000 Basuto peasant landholders, so that this year the average arable area per peasant is about 8 acres. But in money value the main export of the Basuto is wool. Thanks to the continuing and successful upgrading of the native sheep, the systematic dosing by the Veterinary Department and the campaign for cleaning and grading of native wool, this season is proving a record as regards quantity, quality and price. Since 1935, Government has purchased and distributed 4,358 pure-bred pedigree Merino rams—the peak having been obtained this season.

The estimated animal population of Basutoland in round figures is:—

1,600,000 sheep.
560,000 goats (nearly all Angora Mohair goats).
475,000 cattle.
90,000 horses and ponies.
30,000 donkeys.
11,000 mules.

The total population of Basutoland may be roughly put at 600,000 and it is interesting to compare the above figures in relation to human population with those I gave for the Transkei in my report (Doms. Confidential No. 321 of 10th September, 1942*). The cattle population of Basutoland has been stationary for some years. In the twelve months ending 30th September this year the controlled cattle import from the Union was 17,754 and the countervailing export 14,317. Further, whereas the Transkei goat is the " Boer " goat who will eat out the roots of an overgrazed pasture and is the worst animal in its effect on soil erosion, the Basutoland goat is the long haired Angora, a far less pernicious animal. Every effort is made in Basutoland to segregate the grazing of cattle on the one hand and sheep and goats on the other. Another encouraging factor is the increased " beaconing off " of grazing areas that require resting with beacons of white stones, and it is an offence punishable

* Y. 1/74A: not printed.

in the native courts to graze any animals in areas thus demarcated. Similarly failure to eradicate certain defined " noxious weeds " results in the landholder being fined in the native court. Some densely inhabited areas in Basutoland are still somewhat overstocked, particularly having regard to the further increase in arable acreage. But it cannot be said that Basutoland as a whole is overstocked, and still less that stock are directly or indirectly the main cause of soil erosion, or land impoverishment. In Basutoland the main cause of soil erosion is sheet erosion on the steep slopes of the valleys by heavy storms falling upon a light sandy soil particularly where arable agriculture is practised.

Round Maseru and the neighbourhood of the principal district headquarters I saw very vividly this wet season the strikingly successful results of the work of Mr. Thornton and his colleagues in " saving " numbers of the catchment areas by skilful furrowing, banking and disposal of surplus effluent. But for this work not only crops but the most valuable top spit of the soil would have been swept headlong into the dongas and river courses. I had been under the impression that the back of this campaign had been broken. Nearly 100,000 acres of the most menaced catchment areas have now been secured to date by the special anti-soil erosion organization working with mechanical appliances. But it is now clear to me that we are only one-third of the way home, and that two-thirds of the area requiring this particular treatment remain still to be done and that after the war we shall need to obtain new plant to replace that now wearing out and to increase the plant and staff by 50 per cent. if we are to achieve our purpose in anything like a reasonable time—say another ten years. Practice has shown us how to reduce the costs of the necessary procedure down to about £1 per acre on an average. Such expenditure is probably the most lucrative investment that Basutoland has or ever can make. Apart from the larger catchment areas where these more elaborate and costly methods are essential for the control of water, many additional thousands of acres can and should be protected by the simpler method of contour grass strips above which arable fields can be gradually levelled into terraces by the proper method of annual ploughing. This in smaller and less physically threatened catchment areas can be carried out by the natives under supervision for a cost of a mere 6d. per acre. But this cheaper method is not sufficient in the lower, wide, lighter soiled, valuable lowland bottoms. I should like to record in this despatch that the problem of fighting soil erosion in Basutoland is not a temporary but a permanent duty of Government if the basis of the Basuto nation's wealth and prosperity is to be preserved. I estimate the annual cost of the further major construction works needed (at a rough figure of £1 per acre) will be £30,000 a year for the next ten years.

This November at my instigation, supported actively by the Resident Commissioner and the Paramount Chief, a new intensive tree planting campaign has been started in Basutoland and already some 250,000 new trees have been planted. But our aim is to get 12 million trees planted every year for the next ten years. This tree planting campaign has a part to play in the anti-soil erosion campaign but its main object is more fundamental and far reaching. Basutoland is a country now devoid of indigenous timber and except for the efforts of a few individuals both European and native, almost devoid of useful trees. The consequence of this fact is that not only has all timber to be bought and imported from the Union, often at great expense, but that the principal and almost only fuel available for the natives is animal manure. This animal manure is needed on the land for the preservation of humus, the fertility of the soil, and the continued yield of all crops. Until the natives have plenty of wood fuel they will go on burning manure. Thus the tree-planting campaign is an essential necessity for any further agricultural progress. The cost to Government should be between £2,500 and £3,000 a year. Small " pitsos " have been held all over the country to explain and demonstrate the why and wherefore of the tree-planting campaign, and on the whole the response of the people has been encouraging.

This year's fine agricultural achievement of the Basuto people must be seen against the general background of the war effort. Up to the date of my enquiry, 13th December, the total number of Basuto men actually enlisted in the Basuto Auxiliary Pioneer Corps is 19,918 and recruits are still coming in daily. Several thousand more British Basuto are serving in the Union Native Military Corps, and no less than 62,000 British Basuto are away from their country working in the gold and coal mines, in the munition industries—particularly the iron and steel industries at Vereeniging and Pretoria, in other munition works and even at Durban docks. Never before have so many Basuto been away and not a little of the increase in the arable area under cultivation is due to the way in which the women have undertaken the actual ploughing of the land with their husband's oxen. Of the total receipts of native poll tax this year estimated to yield £185,000 or nearly half the revenue of the dependency, over £85,000 will come from Basuto in the armies or at work in mines and industries outside Basutoland.

I was given to understand by officials and traders that there has never been " more money " than there is to-day in Basutoland. When the wool and the produce of this promising harvest has been sold there will be still more. The Postmaster at Maseru told me that £18,000 has been remitted home by Basuto soldiers in the Middle East in the form of British postal orders alone. In the last six months he has opened 895 new native post office savings accounts, and these new accounts total a deposit of just over £10,000. The amount already standing to the credit of Basuto soldiers in the form of deferred pay already amounts to more thousands than these. Ordinarily the native spends his earnings at the traders stores in buying clothes, and other imported necessities and even occasionally luxuries. Nowadays owing to the shipping position the traders have not got and are not likely to be able to get anything like the quantity or range of goods that the native is anxious and able to purchase. The only alternative for the native is therefore either to save his money or buy more livestock at now steadily increasing prices.

Though as I have said Basutoland is not yet totally overstocked we are near the danger point and want to discourage investment of further money in livestock. A thrift campaign is now being inaugurated but I fear that the bulk of the natives' money is being hidden, buried or otherwise hoarded in the kraals. This leads to inevitable loss, partly from secrecy, partly from hut fires, partly from consumption by rodents and the like—for the bulk of this money is in the form of bank-notes. The Basuto is the Scotsman of African Natives in more ways than one—he dislikes anybody, European or Native, knowing how much money he has got and still more " where it is kept ". This problem of

getting an African tribe into a modern money economy has nowhere been an easy one, and it is beginning to be an acute problem in Basutoland. I have referred to the wise institution of the system of deferred pay in respect of part of the emoluments of the Basuto soldiers. This amounts to 9*d*. a day less the annual poll tax and education levy of 28*s*. The net amount due to be paid to the Basuto contingent in the Middle East after two years service payable on their return to Basutoland will be approximately half a million pounds of ready cash.

At this point I should interpose to point out that the question of disability pensions and other payments due to the Basuto African Auxiliary Pioneer Corps by the British War Office or Ministry of Pensions may prove of considerable difficulty if there is any appreciable difference between the scales laid down for the African Auxiliary Pioneer Corps and those laid down by the Union Government for Basuto in the Union Native Military Corps.

However, the main deduction from the above part of this despatch is, that economically and financially, Basutoland is a comparatively wealthy and progressive native dependency. It has no Governmental debt whatsoever, all capital advances from the United Kingdom Government in the past having been paid off out of current revenue. There are no loans outstanding, and no loan charges. But I am satisfied that new useful capital expenditure is urgently needed in the interests of the Basuto people.

In my despatch on the Union's Transkei I animadverted on what I considered the inadequate present provision for native health. I have been going into this matter in relation to Basutoland, and as a result I am clear that I am to-day guilty of throwing a few stones while living in a glass house myself. The hospital provision—and the medical services we are now providing in Basutoland are in my opinion grossly inadequate to the needs of the native population. Both new capital expenditure on buildings and equipment as well as increased annual charges for medical staff both European and native are long overdue. The present position is not merely one which we cannot be proud of, but one which you could not justify to any House of Commons.

This matter is to be discussed at the forthcoming conference of the three High Commission Territories and in the light of material being now prepared for that conference and after its deliberations I shall be making specific proposals for much needed reform. I was shocked at what I discovered on this tour. Suffice it to say that we are at present only spending 1*s*. 2*d*. per head of the population on hospital and medical provision of all kinds other than the Leper Settlement at Botsabelo.

I also found that the housing of our own native staff in our Government employ is quite inadequate. I am not happy about our Government prisons for natives either as regards their structure or management. Indeed I am anything but complacent about the present state of the Basutoland police. This matter is giving some concern to the new Resident Commissioner.

Education has received approximately one fifth of the total revenue and about 80 per cent. of the native children of Basuto do receive some school education—which is a high percentage for any African territory. Further educational developments—except more bursaries for Basuto to places in the Union like Fort Cox and Fort Hare are difficult in view of the outstanding rivalries and troubles between the missionary denominations. I have already asked for an independent outside commission from the United Kingdom to examine this deadlock as soon as practicable, after the war. Without such an authoritative report I can see no daylight or progress.

There is one small matter however which was brought to my attention, namely, the complete absence of any facilities at present for training our own native clerks—many of whom are otherwise well educated and satisfactory—in either typewriting or shorthand. This should not be an expensive item to remedy. I quote this as an example of the reluctance with which any such project involving new expenditure in the High Commission Territories and the doubt as to whether it will be approved by " Higher authority " has been viewed for many years in the past. Nowadays it is extremely difficult to reconcile a rigidly conservative Treasury policy with either the efficiency of Government or any policy of human betterment. It is not for me to attempt to decide between the rival economic and financial theories of the late Mr. Gladstone and the living Lord Keynes. Certainly our colonial policy has in my own experience, until quite recently been more dominated by the former than the latter and in the example which I have quoted above at the expense of common-sense or any realization of the consequences of useful modern technical inventions.

I have written enough to show that in several fields of activity there has been very remarkable progress and real achievement in Basutoland, and that there is plenty of room for more. The Basuto are a hard-working virile, progressive people and very responsive to enterprise and leadership.

I am afraid that at the moment of my visit this time the native administration is not what it could or should be. This is partly due to the release for the army and especially to service with the African Auxiliary Pioneer Corps of so many of our younger and most active Government officials from many departments, and in particular the men with a forward view. The burden of work in their absence has fallen with double severity on the older men in the service who have spent long years in Basutoland and Basutoland only, and have done the early years of their service in a period of British Colonial policy in relation to the High Commission Territories when the motto was—to put it at its best " *quiela non movera* ". The spirit of Lugard, Clifford, Cameron and Hailey has not reached them. They are in some cases too set in old ways to change in their declining years.

The control and supervision of the Native Courts contemplated in the Native Courts Proclamation of 1938, a year before the war, is just not being effectively carried out—and cannot be effectively carried out by the existing already overworked administrative staff. But both Colonel Clarke and I have realized that the new Native Courts legislation and the new Native Authorities legislation can never be satisfactory without a Native Treasury into which all Native Court fines are paid and properly accounted for, and a Native Authority cannot function honestly or satisfactorily unless Chiefs and their judicial and other subordinate functionaries are paid fixed and adequate salaries in lieu of capricious and indefensible emoluments. As for the Native Courts there are still far too many of them and some of them are definitely unsatisfactory and inefficient. At the moment the internal Native political situation in Basutoland is not too good. It may be that it must further deteriorate before it can be cleared up and be got into the straight again. It arises from the fact that for the first time in the history of Basutoland the Paramountcy is vested in the still young and

inevitably inexperienced widow of the late Paramount Chief whose eventual heir is a boy of only five years of age. There is an amount of " court intrigue " for her favour not untinged by selfish and money making ambitions of followers and plausible adventurers, some of whom are getting money and patronage out of her which in cases amounts to little short of barefaced robbery. There are cliques, factions and intrigues among Chiefs and counsellors in connexion with Matsieng (the name of the Paramount Chief's kraal) which are becoming notorious among the people. The Regent is human, perhaps all too human and she is in a very difficult position and certain people are doing their utmost to exploit her in their own selfish interests. It looks as if we may have to " interfere " but the time and occasion and the particular ground on which we intervene must be carefully considered and chosen or we shall do more harm than good to the Native Authority, to the unity of the Basuto people and our future good relations with them. The House of Moshesh still has enormous prestige. It is the cement of the nation and its traditional loyalty and pride. To attempt to destroy it or govern the Basuto without it would be a tragic blunder.

Personally I have every confidence that Colonel Clarke will be able to handle in due course what is at the moment an embarrassing and regrettable situation. For the first year of her regency, Mantsebo seemed to be doing admirably. During the last few months there has been a pretty bad lapse and it looks as if certain individuals in her entourage will have to be very effectively evicted, and something like a small permanent council of advisers of experience and good report installed in their place.

Not a little is due to the fact that while the overwhelming majority of the sons of Moshesh chose his widow as Regent in preference to Chief Bereng the brother of the late Paramount Chief—the latter has not buried the hatchet nor have the considerable minority faction behind him. It must be remembered that their father, Paramount Chief Griffith, wished to designate Bereng as his heir and " placed " him—his favourite son, in the " ward " of P'hamong, i.e., the important district Chieftainship always regarded as the ward of the heir apparent—corresponding to our " Wales ". Chief Bereng is still Chief of P'hamong.

Perhaps I should explain that whereas for purposes of our administration we divide Basutoland into eight districts each with its district headquarters and complement of European officials, the native authority has always divided Basutoland into twenty-nine wards or districts each under a district Chief with a class A Court, etc., under the Paramount Chief. There has long been a considerable decentralization of power and authority to these twenty-nine Principal Chiefs, under whom smaller sub-Chiefs and local headmen function.

In appearance, and in some ways in ability, Bereng is more like his father or paternal forbears than most of his rivals and enemies—and in a native community such things count. But he has played his cards pretty badly since he was rejected. We are some way off still from a " constitutional monarchy ", even though it is a subordinate monarchy, in Basutoland. We are faced with the fact that whoever holds the Paramountcy has in fact great power and great responsibilities. If the Royal Family has such actual powers and responsibilities and is then divided by intrigues within itself the body politic and public administration suffer.

I am not pessimistic about the eventual outcome. In fact in this case good may come out of evil. But the present situation is not without some anxiety.

Mixed up in troubles of this kind are the Government native interpreters who are present at interviews between the Chiefs and others, for example the Resident Commissioner. Such native officials are everywhere exposed to great temptations and are apt to get caught in any native intrigue and are quite often liable to indiscretion in private conversation outside. In a country like Basutoland a really good colloquial knowledge and pratice of Sesuto is perhaps the most essential qualification for all European Administrative Officers. It is much more important than " law ". In Basutoland where there are no European landowners or farmers and only 200 European trading licences in the whole country, the political and administrative duties of our staff far transcend their magisterial responsibilities. Real knowledge of the people and of their language is their first and greatest need for their success and capacity to assist Government.

I take the opportunity of this despatch to report to you that immediately after the war the following important heads of departments will retire on pension. Some are already over the age limit and are only being kept on because of and for the duration of the war. (1) Major Piers the Commissioner of Police and Prisons, (2) Dr. Dyke the Principal Medical Officer and (3) Mr. Bull, the Director of Education. I am satisfied that there is no one in Basutoland or anywhere in the High Commission Territories adequate for promotion to fill these pivotal posts and we must look to the Colonial Services to send us new men for them. I repeat that the efficiency of the services and the adequate carrying out of our policy in the High Commission Territories can only be assured if there is more interchange between the staffs of the Territories and that of our larger African Dependencies.

Perhaps the most serious of our present difficulties is the inadequacy of some of the senior men over 50 in the Administrative service. The problem of weeding out the less efficient members of a civil service has I know been exercising the late Secretary of State for the Colonies. Their retention constitutes a heavy burden on any High Commissioner or Resident Commissioner and has the effect of discouraging the young, keener and more useful men who, owing to the lack of an adequate long grade of salary, have to depend on promotion to a greater extent than in other Colonies and Dependencies. They constitute an inherent brake on the wheels of true progress. Honourable retirement on proportionate pension would in the long run be a great saving to everyone, and would be a great gain in the efficiency and credit of our administration.

I am reporting separately on the diary of my tour and the events and speeches of the national Pitso on 7th December.

I have, &c.,

HARLECH,
High Commissioner.

Y. 701/1/5. No. 19.

DESPATCH

from

HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR BASUTOLAND, THE BECHUANALAND PROTECTORATE AND SWAZILAND.

(Received 29th December, 1943.)

Basutoland.

(No. 408, Confidential.)

My Lord, Pretoria, 7th December, 1943.

I have the honour to submit the following report on my recent visit to Basutoland, from the 23rd to the 30th November.

Section 1.

Economical and Financial.

When I visited the Territory this time last year I was encouraged to report that there seemed every prospect of a prosperous season. A record acreage of arable crops had been ploughed and sown. Stock was plentiful and in good condition. But alas! climatic conditions changed rapidly for the worse early in 1943 and the resulting out-turn of production proved to be a gloomy disappointment. There was drought throughout the critical month of February and in the middle of that summer month, Basutoland suffered from the visitation of an unprecedentedly early and severe frost. This was followed in April by excessive late rains and this in turn by one of the coldest and most prolonged winters on record. The thermometer fell to zero Fahrenheit on more than one occasion, and in most of the mountain areas there was a very heavy fall of snow—feet deep in many places—as late as August the 23rd. Some thousands of livestock of all kinds perished, and the survivors were reduced to a wretched weakness. About 15 per cent. of the cattle, 12 per cent. of the donkeys, 7½ per cent. of the sheep and 5 per cent. of the horses perished in the snow-drifts. In some parts of the mountain area the natives lost 100 per cent. of their transport donkeys.

2. The local maize crop for last season is now estimated to have produced only 659,000 bags of 200 lb. from an acreage of 400,000 sown, little over 1½ bags to the acre instead of 2½ bags to the acre in a good year. The wheat crop—especially the Canadian hard wheat in the high mountains—harvested in April showed a sad falling-off when compared to the previous year, and, owing to the scarcity of maize, an unusually high proportion of the Basutoland wheat crop was consumed locally by the native producers instead of being sold to the Union as is the normal practice, the natives preferring maize to wheat as their staple food.

3. The following table of net exports of Basutoland native arable products to the Union is illustrative of the consequences of a bad season:—

	Season 1941-42.	*Season* 1942-43.
Wheat	218,624 bags value £175,000.	61,379 bags value £49,000.
Kaffir corn ...	55,223 ,, ,, £35,894.	49,245 ,, ,, £43,000.
Beans and peas	11,175 ,, ,, £14,000.	4,837 ,, ,, £7,000.

There is still a maize shortage which will continue till the 1943-44 crop is reached, and by the generosity of the Union Government, Basutoland has been receiving a much needed monthly allocation of 13,333 bags from the Union Maize Control Board to keep going.

4. The population of Basutoland ordinarily needs at least one million bags of mealies for human consumption alone and unless this provision is exceeded there can and will be no cereal feeding of cattle or other domestic animals, with the consequent inevitable reduction in condition and milk yield.

5. Fortunately the wool clip for 1942-43 was again a good one. The estimated weight of the season's wool clip is 8,325,714 lb. valued at £225,488 to the producer.

6. There are fewer cattle in Basutoland (with nearly four times the human population) than in Swaziland. The Basutoland human population is double that of the Bechuanaland Protectorate, but the cattle population of Basutoland is less than half that of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. Consequently there is comparatively little cattle trade between Basutoland and the Union. What trade there has been, has been at ever rising prices at the cattle auctions in favour of the producer.

7. In spite of this seasonal set-back in economic production, the Basuto have not lost heart, and though the ploughing and sowing season this year is from three weeks to a month later than it was last year, both sexes and all ages are working again with a will. The Chiefs and leaders have been active in impressing upon all, the urgent importance of the "battle of food," and throughout my tour I saw everywhere evidence of the fine efforts being made by all.

8. The estimated allocation of crops this coming season is:—

Maize	400,000 acres
Wheat	300,000 ,,
Kaffir corn	300,000 ,,
Beans and peas	50,000 ,,

In effect, the record acreage of arable crops achieved last year may be actually surpassed this year.

9. In addition to these normal types of cultivation, the new tree-planting campaign inaugurated last spring has made commendable progress. The bulk of the new trees were planted during the periods December to March and July to September. During these months 6,671,342 trees were planted in native areas by natives, and 371,900 by paid labour in the Government camp reserves. The four principal varieties in order of number planted are Silver Poplar, Wattle, Robinia, and Deodar (Himalayan Cedar). In spite of the difficult climatic season and the absence of all fencing, the estimated survival is 35 per cent., a very fair average even when compared with controlled and fenced forestry department plantings in the Union of South Africa. Previous to this campaign, backed by Government and the Chiefs, the annual average of new tree-planting was barely 100,000.

10. A new campaign has been that for larger and more adequate vegetable gardens, and this season we have managed to get 8,000 new vegetable gardens cultivated and sown. This year, too, we have begun the introduction of the soya bean. Twenty acres have been sown by selected progressive native farmers and six by the Agricultural Department as a start of a hitherto untried crop in Basutoland. I hope in the near future to see the introduction of the cultivation of Jerusalem artichokes and sunn-hemp as field crops.

11. The anti-soil erosion work has continued. In the past season a further 19,030 acres has been protected by substantial terrace banks on the basis of our comprehensive catchment area plans. This is 1,000 acres more than were covered last year and only 1,000 acres less than the record area in any year, viz., 1939-40. In addition to these more elaborate works a further 17,155 acres have been protected by the laying-out of contour grass strips. Unfortunately only half our tractors, necessary for the more substantial work, are now in operation owing to shortage of spare parts and wear and tear. Our gear is steadily but surely wearing out and needs replacement as soon as machinery can be obtained.

12. Let us frankly admit that because of the immediate urgency of the "battle of food" for human sustenance we are land mining in Basutoland and continuing the regrettable practice of growing corn on corn and delaying the desirable introduction of a more scientific rotation, the development of fodder crops, and the restoring of a sounder balance between grazing and corn production. After the war the better conservation and improvement of grass lands will be of first importance. But intelligent, progressive and responsive as the Basuto are—"one idea at a time" is as much as we can "get across" *en masse*. As we are, war necessity prevents us embarking on any wide campaign for the improvement of the feeding of the cattle stock, and consequently of the latter's quality, particularly as milk and meat producers. This will have to be tackled when hostilities cease. All cattle in Basutoland to-day except in some virgin pasturage areas in the high mountains are suffering from malnutrition.

13. The tree-planting campaign is, of course, the necessary first step to getting less animal manure burnt for fuel and more used as it should be for manuring the arable corn lands. Thanks again to the neighbourly generosity of the Union we have secured some phosphate fertilizer. But dosing with imported phosphate is a poor substitute for proper long-term rotational agriculture and dung manure.

14. But personally I am of opinion that while continuing its present agricultural policy and plans, the Basutoland Government should now lose no time in planning for the better breeding and better feeding of cattle. Ocular demonstration and proved results in the country are the only means of convincing a native population of desirable changes. I therefore wish to see established as soon as possible in one or more of the Government reserves, a station for experiment and demonstration both of cattle breeding and better cattle feeding. In recent years too much money has been devoted to the introduction of Afrikander bulls, and too little to selection of the better type of native cow and their crossing both with selected bulls or imported bulls of a better milking capacity than the Afrikander. The Alpine Swiss Cattle might be a much better cross, and these should have the necessary hardihood without the Afrikanders' grave disadvantages. But breed-up without better feeding is to my mind money thrown away. I see no reason why "dry land" lucerne and other fodder crops should not be successfully introduced into Basutoland. But this would have to be demonstrated by the Basutoland Agricultural Department in Basutoland. I am aware that no provision has been made in next year's Estimates for this project, but I hope that this objection will not bar the way to what I consider is of great importance to the future of the country.

15. Again, when arable lands become exhausted, as many are already, and have to be returned to grass—if the transition is left to "nature" all that we shall get for several years is a crop of valueless if not actually noxious weeds, as happened in England after the last war. The introduction and careful nurture of sown grass mixtures based upon scientific study and selection according to different types of soil and climate is essential to effective recovery. I feel that in Basutoland, grass improvement and fodder crops are more worthy of attention than further experiments on grain selection.

16. The agricultural effort of Basutoland must be seen against the background of the military and industrial effort of the people. On 31st August this year there were over 20,000 Basuto "up North" on military service, mainly in the African Auxiliary Pioneer Corps and some in the Union Native Military Corps. Just over 40,000 were then employed in the Gold Mines, and 3,724 in the Natal or Witbank Coal Mines. 13,886 were in Industrial Activities in "proclaimed labour" districts in the Union—mainly in the iron and steel industries (Iscor, Stewarts & Lloyds, Dorman Long's, etc.). These are precise figures. A further 20,000 are in the employment of the Union Railways and Harbours (e.g., at Durban and Bloemfontein) or working on Union farms. In effect, not less than 100,000 Basuto males are working outside Basutoland which represents very nearly one-third of the total male population of all ages. Consequently the number of fit adult males between the ages of 18 and 45 remaining to-day in Basutoland is but a very small fraction

of this age group, and Basutoland is virtually at the end of its manpower resources, whether for the army or for industrial activities in the Union. The bulk of the ploughing in Basutoland this year is being done by the women and children.

17. The Basuto of Basutoland are always in demand by all employers and they get most of the best jobs in the labour market open to Africans. Consequent on this and on their hard work in Basutoland the country continues in a high state of financial prosperity.

18. The Government's accumulated net balances at 31st March this year stood at £282,500—considerably over half a year's revenue. There are no outstanding Government loans of any kind and no loan charges.

19. The revised Estimates for the current financial year are:—

Revenue	£504,000
Expenditure	£417,500

The estimated accumulated balance at 31st March, 1944, is therefore £360,000, a welcome nest egg for much needed post-war development. This is the Government aspect of the financial situation, but the " financial " prosperity of the people continues to increase at an even more significant rate. The total number of separate Post Office Savings Accounts in operation in Basutoland on 31st October this year was 15,809 and the credit balances amounted to £217,362. From the 1st of April this year to 31st October, new Post Office Savings Accounts were opened for natives involving the sum of £18,648. This reflects great credit on the successful activities of our four " thrift " officers. In addition to Post Office Savings Accounts the Standard Bank of South Africa in its Basutoland branches has one hundred and seventy-three native Bank accounts aggregating credit balances of about 7,600, and eleven fixed deposit accounts aggregating £4,140 actual.

20. The sum of £41,326 has been remitted by Basuto in the African Auxiliary Pioneer Corps up North in the form of family remittances, and in addition £80,350 has been remitted direct by Basuto soldiers in the Middle East or Italy in the form of British postal orders. It must be remembered, too, that one-third of these soldiers' pay is treated as " deferred " pay, and the amount that has now accrued to their credit under this head is now over £400,000.

21. It is anticipated that a record collection of native tax will be collected this year, viz., £190,000. Over and above this is the additional " Educational levy " of 3s. per taxpayer, and the special " War " levy has yielded £40,000. Part of the latter is being spent on " Comforts " for the Native troops, but the bulk is on loan to His Majesty's Government in the United Kingdom and will be used to assist returning soldiers on demobilization.

22. From the continued rise in the yield of the excess profits tax payable by European traders in Basutoland, it is clear that Native purchases of anything they can get in the stores has been rising and traders admit ever-increasing demand for consumption goods. But I gather that the amount of notes and coins being hoarded in the kraals is still increasing, and as the former get damaged by mice and rats, etc., numbers of " fragments " keep coming in for replacement. The Basuto are short of mealies, but certainly they are not short of money!

23. It is clear to me, however, that only war conditions have postponed a considerable rise in much needed public expenditure by the Government of Basutoland. Serious arrears will have to be made up as soon as practicable.

24. Perhaps the most outstanding grievance and legitimate cause of discontent is the present inadequate housing of African native employees of the Government. Better provision in this matter is long overdue.

25. Further, we are rightly committed to an expansion of our medical services. The main Central Hospital of the Territory at Maseru, providing facilities for both Europeans and native patients, has been rightly condemned as an ancient and dangerous structure, and an entirely new hospital providing for anything between 250 and 300 beds in a new site is urgently needed. The Maseru water supply is inadequate and considerable expenditure will be needed to make it adequate. Road extension and developments have been long postponed. In fact the expenditure on " Public Works Extraordinary " must rise steeply in the next few years. Most of our departments are understaffed and overworked. It is clear for example that Basutoland needs for reasonably effective administration, four new District Commissioners and ten new Assistant District Commissioners. It needs more doctors, nurses and native medical assistants of various types and grades. Police reform is long overdue as the police, in the absence of an adequate number of European officers, have deteriorated in efficiency all to rapidly. In every direction it has not been possible during the war to provide that stitch in time which saves nine, and consequently, there will be all the heavier expenditure when the day comes for increasingly necessary repairs and replacements, human and material.

26. I am, however, quite satisfied that Basutoland can afford quite a considerable period of " courageous and beneficial spending."

SECTION 2.

POLITICAL AND CONSTITUTIONAL.

27. There can be no doubt that the recently held annual session of the Basutoland and National Council is something of a land mark in the country's history. The spirit of " reform " is in the air, and the Chiefs are beginning to realize that the " people " are demanding and have a right to a somewhat greater say in the public life of Basutoland. But before I deal with any specific matters it may be useful to summarize once again the historical, social and political background.

28. Basutoland is *sui generis* in Southern Africa. It is a densely populated, self-conscious and self-contained nation rather than a tribe such as the Swazi and Bechuana " tribes." In Basutoland there are no European settlers or farmers. There is no such thing as freehold title to any land, all of which is vested in the Basuto nation. There is no " coloured " community, and only a very small settlement of Indian traders, mainly in the Butha Buthe district in the North and this " community " is not increasing.

29. Basutoland is governed by a form of indirect rule—though at its present stage of development the form is somewhat different to that which has been developed elsewhere in British Native dependencies. Probably the nearest analogy is to be found in the Bantu states in the Uganda Protectorate. The Native Authority, at whose head is the Paramount Chief at Matsieng, is wealthy, active, powerful and vigorous. There is a multiplicity—too great a multiplicity at present—of Native Courts exercising civil and some criminal jurisdiction. As yet there is no Native Treasury. The Native Authority is in effect the house of Moshesh—the now numerous ruling family from whose ranks are chosen not only the Paramountcy but practically all the principal district Chiefs and Sub-Chiefs.

30. The Basutoland National Council consists of the British Resident Commissioner, the Paramount Chief and ninety-nine African members, ninety-four of whom are nominated by the Paramount Chief, selected from " the principal persons exercising authority as Chiefs of the Basuto . . . . and shall as far as practicable be representative of the different interests and opinions of the nation " (Proclamation No. 7 of 1910). The remaining five are nominated by the Resident Commissioner. Thus the majority of councillors are " Sons of Moshesh " i.e., those who can claim descent from Chief Moshesh who fashioned the Basuto Nation from the remnants of many tribes during his long life as a war leader and statesman from the early years of the nineteenth century till his death in exceptional old age in 1870. In fact the Basutoland National Council to-day is not unlike a " House of Lords " based on a combination of hereditary right and functional administrative responsibility. It contains men of very varying ability and a wide range of views from right wing die-hards to radical progressives, and on the whole it is a remarkable assembly.

31. Although the Council were given wide " consultative " powers by Proclamation No. 7 of 1910, it has until now only existed as a formal body. Discussions on matters of high policy have in practice been conducted on the level of Resident Commissioner and Paramount Chief without reference to the Council, and it is not surprising therefore that great dissatisfaction has long been felt by the Council that they have thus been consistently ignored. For instance, a recent grievance is that they were not consulted about the Native Administration Proclamation of 1938, and that their Paramount Chief conducted all the preliminary negotiations and framed the subsequent legislation without reference to them. They also feel that they have had no say in the framing of domestic legislation and are now insisting on the fullest interpretation of Sections 8 and 9 of their Constitution. But it is only during the last two sessions that this restiveness has been given public expression, and the present developments all point to a movement for the increase of the powers of the Council in the public life and policy of the nation. This recent session has been remarkable in that projects for the reform of the composition of the Council, previously defeated by a substantial majority, have now been carried. In this connexion the following resolutions are worthy of mention, details of which have already been set out in my letter No. 5192 of the 19th November, 1943*.

(*a*) The establishment of a Standing Committee to be elected annually by the Council from among its members to carry on continuous relations *vis-à-vis* the Paramount Chief and the Administration, this Committee to be the eyes and ears of the Council, to whom all domestic legislation would be referred before promulgation.

(*b*) The proposal to introduce new elements into the Council not based on hereditary or functional rights.

(*c*) The formation of District Councils to be elected by the taxpayers of each district, and

(*d*) The representation on the Council of several new bodies, e.g., various Associations and the Basutoland Legion of Ex-Servicemen, now being formed.

32. However, in spite of these projected changes, the composition of the Council will nevertheless remain substantially aristocratic, and in the present stage of social evolution of the Basuto people this is inevitable and not entirely to be deprecated, and the present reforms are a very definite step towards a more modern constitutional regime.

33. Although the High Commissioner is the sole legislative authority in Basutoland it is nevertheless, clearly a natural desire on the part of the Basutoland National Council that they should play a greater part in matters affecting the daily life of the Basuto and that they should be " consulted " more frequently. This proposal would obviously require closer examination and definition, but I am personally of the opinion that every effort should be made to meet the request.

34. I also gathered from the Resident Commissioner that there is a movement to incorporate the Laws of Lerotholi, i.e., indigenous native law and custom, into the fabric of the legislation of the Territory. They were codified in 1923 but are now obsolete and will need considerable amendment, and as the Chiefs are supposed to administer them in their Courts it is clearly necessary that they should be brought up to date. Any written law of the Medes and Persians " which changeth not " is undesirable unless there is recognized constitutional machinery for constant amendment. As you are aware, these " laws " have never been recognized by the High Commissioner, but I am

*Y. 832/3: not printed.

quite clear that once their codification has been completed, the question of their recognition by the High Commissioner will be raised once more. I may add here, that in the Bechuanaland Protectorate we have just concluded long drawn out negotiations with the tribal Chiefs and their kgotlas in connection with the amendment of the previously existing Native Authorities and Native Courts Proclamations, and my new Proclamations resulting from these " consultations " come into legal force on 1st January next.

35. The project for the creation of a Basutoland Native Treasury remains controversial and is being actively pursued. Its first object must be to place the Paramountcy and the Chiefs and Native functionaries on a salaried basis as in Nigeria and elsewhere, instead of their being dependent as at present for their incomes on the produce of native court fines, and similar customary and often irregular and somewhat arbitrary dues.

36. It is only natural that the Chiefs should be apprehensive lest the establishment of Native Treasuries should deprive them of hereditary revenue and services which would not entirely be equated by fixed salaries, but curiously enough, opposition to it has now appeared from another and quite unexpected quarter. I was told on good authority that the Roman Catholic Mission fathers were " weighing in " through the Chiefs in the fear that the establishment of a Native Treasury may lead, as it has done in the Bechuanaland Protectorate (though not to any great extent elsewhere in Africa), to the " secularization of schools ".

37. I have no doubt that the vast mass of the Basuto Nation and the " progressives " among the Chiefs are now strongly in favour of the project for a Native Treasury, but equally that there is still a good deal of opposition especially from the Roman Catholic Chiefs. It may take time and persistence to overcome the latter, but I am hopeful regarding the final outcome.

38. The reform of the Native Courts is now being gone into in detail, and progress is being made, but as this must involve the abolition of a number of the smaller courts, it is inherently bound up with the establishment of the Native Treasury and the payment of some salary for the minor native functionaries at present dependent for their incomes on their Courts.

39. There are at present no less than 1,340 Native Courts established by warrant in Basutoland. This is fantastic. At present an appellant may have to pass through as many as four Appeal Courts from the small court of first instance to the final Native Appeal Court at Matsieng, from which in turn there may be an appeal to the District Commissioner's Court or the High Court of the Territory as the case may be. Investigations show that ten per cent. of the existing Courts take sixty per cent. of all cases, and there is now a clear case for the abolition of most of the smaller courts.

40. Admittedly, the present number of Courts is far too unwieldy, but on the other hand it must be remembered that during the preliminary negotiations between the late Paramount Chief Griffith and the Resident Commissioner, the former insisted that *all* existing Chiefs, Sub-Chiefs and Headmen should be given warrants to hold Courts in order that there might be no ground for complaint that the new law deprived numbers of them of their former jurisdiction. Although this condition was agreed to by Government it was nevertheless the declared policy to whittle down the number of these Courts in the course of time, and it is interesting to note that the senior Chiefs are now well aware that the number of courts is far in excess of the needs of the people, that many of these smaller courts are inefficient and unsatisfactory and that a drastic reduction is necessary. Several of them have made to Government their own proposals to this end. For example, Chief Bereng, the brother of the late Paramount Chief, has in his ward in the Mohale's Hoek district no less than one hundred and fifty-one subordinate courts, and he has himself proposed that these be reduced to eight. It is perhaps inevitable that the Sub-Chiefs and Headmen oppose such reductions as involving for them both loss of income and of prestige.

41. I am glad to be able to report that there has been a great improvement in the confidence in and respect for the Paramount Chief's Court of Appeal at Matsieng since the Chairmanship of this important Court has been taken over by Kelebone N'Koebe. He is a man of good education and standing, having passed the Junior Certificate standard in his youth, and having served for three years as a senior clerk in the Basutoland Government's Agency Office in Johannesburg. He is an uncle of the present Paramount Chieftainess Regent.

42. That these series of reforms and projected reforms have become possible is due to two main factors, first, the personality, leadership and perseverance of Colonel Arden Clarke, our new Resident Commissioner, and secondly, the demand for reforms coming from the common people, and more particularly from the increasing number of better educated " commoners." The Chiefs who are not unintelligent are " reading the signs of the times " and beginning to realize that mere hereditary right and traditional " authority " of themselves can no longer rule the roost among a free-speaking independent nation of progressive and sturdy Highlanders like the Basuto.

43. During my recent tour I took the opportunity of my visit to Matsieng to venture on a somewhat lengthy discourse to the Paramount Chieftainess Regent and her principal Chiefs there assembled, on the lessons that world history has for such hereditary aristocracies as still survive. Above all, I made it clear to them that I have given and shall continue to give to Colonel Clarke my vigilant and unceasing support in the various " reforms " upon which we are now embarked. I think they realize that it will be fruitless to appeal to me over the head of the present Resident Commissioner and that I am determined while High Commissioner—in their own best interest—to back all reasonable reforms.

44. The continuance of the prestige and great traditions of the House of Moshesh—the cement of the nation—is, I hold, essential to the unity, order and progress of the Basuto nation for a long time to come. If they fail to live up to their responsibilities and opportunities it will do no good to them or the nation. The Basuto are not yet ready for full-fledged western democracy. We need and shall for some time need an effective native " authority " whose orders and judgments will be obeyed and enforced with equity and justice. With their inevitable human shortcomings I would rather save the existing political and social order than trust to the problematic emergence of a Cleon.

SECTION 3.

EDUCATION.

45. The inter-denominational friction over grants to Mission schools and the much advertised alleged grievances of the Roman Catholic Mission against the Government have already been reported to you. The sooner the external Commission can come out to report upon these matters the better, as in the meanwhile the teachers are genuinely suffering. Their salaries in many cases are definitely too small, especially in view of the steadily continued rise in the cost of living to all classes dependent on purchases from the Union to maintain that " higher " standard of living to which qualified teachers are entitled. The Basuto are rightly proud of the educational advance that they have made in recent years. It is indeed remarkable that even this year when so many of the older boys are in military service or industrial work in the Union we should still have in school classes in Basutoland 639 boys and 203 girls in standards higher than Standard VI, which is generally the conclusion of so many Africans' school career.

46. Over and above these 842 post-Standard VI pupils continuing their education in Basutoland, a considerable number are at Union institutions on their own resources, there receiving similar higher education. Twenty-two young Basuto men are now provided with Government bursaries at Fort Hare or Fort Cox, in addition to those Basuto who are at Fort Hare on their own resources. Accordingly, in spite of war conditions, the ladder to higher education is being maintained.

47. On the occasion of this visit I paid special attention to the Lerotholi Technical School, an admirable institution at Maseru for training Basuto in certain skilled crafts. Four-year courses are provided in—

(*a*) Saddlery and leatherwork.

(*b*) Carpentry and furniture making.

(*c*) Smith and metallurgical work.

(*d*) Skilled masoncraft.

The standards attained are high. The first three named are the most popular. But in the small masonry class I found the students in the charge of a skilled native foreman cutting the voussoirs and Gothic mouldings for a memorial arch that has been presented to the local Anglican Church. The Basuto has clearly demonstrated in the Army in the Middle East—as in his own country—that he makes a good skilled craftsman. The Lerotholi School is residential and provides accommodation for seventy-five craft students. Plans are now under consideration for its enlargement. Much of the work they turn out at present is on order for various Basutoland Government departments, e.g., the Public Works Department, school furniture, Mounted Police and Hospitals, etc. It is my view that after the war more of the work now done by outside contractors for our Public Works Department should be done by ex-pupils of the Lerotholi Technical School taken permanently into Government service on recognised incremental scales of salary. There is, of course, no " industrial colour bar " in Basutoland.

48. This Lerotholi School has its own farm, but I am inclined to the view that if we cannot rely on Fort Cox in the Union with its admirable two-year course in agriculture to train all the Native agricultural demonstrators we shall require, which will amount to at least seventy, the Basutoland Agricultural Department may have to undertake similar higher agricultural training in Basutoland in some other institution.

49. Both the Paris Evangelical Missionary Society Printing Press at Morija and the corresponding Roman Catholic Press at Mazenod are to-day almost overwhelmed with orders from other African territories for books and printing in various Bantu vernaculars, and an increasing number of Basuto are employed in this craft. Bookbinding, which is a rare and at present quite inadequately provided industry in the Union of South Africa, presents a real opportunity for industrial employment for the Basuto in connexion with both these well-known Mission Presses.

50. I incline to the opinion that after the war it would be a good thing to send a few of our Basuto who reach Matriculation standard to Makerere in Uganda and not only to Fort Hare. The faculties open to Africans at Makerere are less purely academic than at Fort Hare, and while doubtless the majority of Basuto will continue to go to Fort Hare, it may well be that the medical and agricultural faculties at Makerere will prove more suitable to some Basuto.

I have, &c.,

HARLECH,

High Commissioner.

Y. 832/8.

No. 20.

DESPATCH

from

HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR BASUTOLAND, THE BECHUANALAND PROTECTORATE AND SWAZILAND.

(Received 9th June, 1944.)

Basutoland.

(No. 225.)

Pretoria, 30th May, 1944.

My Lord,

With reference to your telegram No. 214 of the 25th November, 1943*, and subsequent correspondence, I have the honour to enclose, for your information, a copy of the undermentioned documents on the subject of the resolutions adopted by the Basutoland Council at its 38th Session in October–November, 1943.

I have, &c.,

HARLECH,

High Commissioner.

Despatch from the Resident Commissioner, Basutoland, 13th May, 1944.
Despatch† to the Resident Commissioner, Basutoland, 27th May, 1944.

Enclosure 1 in No. 20.

(Confidential. No. 2174.)

13th May, 1944.

My Lord,

In accordance with section 11 of the Basutoland Council Proclamation No. 7 of 1910, I have the honour to submit for Your Excellency's consideration eight resolutions unanimously adopted by the Basutoland Council at its 38th Session held from 23rd October to 5th November, 1943. Copies of these resolutions are enclosed.

2. In my opinion these resolutions, if implemented, will be an important step to the gradual conversion of the Paramountcy from an autocracy to a constitutional monarchy and will tend to place the Basuto Native Administration on a more representative and democratic basis and better suited to modern conditions.

3. I have consulted the Regent who after lengthy discussion and consideration has expressed her concurrence with and acceptance of these resolutions.

4. I recommend that Your Excellency approve that steps be taken to establish District Councils on the lines recommended in resolution 3, to nominate suitable persons as members of the Basutoland Council within the terms of sub-sections (3) and (5) of section 2 of Proclamation No. 7 of 1910 as recommended in resolution 4 and to establish a Standing Committee of Council as recommended in resolution 5.

5. As regards resolution 7, I recommend that an assurance be given to Council that it is the policy of His Majesty's Government to consult the Paramount Chief and the Basutoland Council before Proclamations closely affecting the domestic affairs and welfare of the Basuto people or the progress and development of the Basuto Native Administration are enacted. To avoid misunderstanding I suggest that it should be made clear to Council that there are Proclamations dealing with matters which do not fall within this definition, such for example as proclamations imposing income or other tax on Europeans only or making changes in customs and excise duties in accordance with the Customs Agreement with the Union Government or dealing with the constitution and procedure of the Subordinate and High Courts or with the conditions and service of Government officials or with certain technical and legal matters, and that in the case of such proclamations it is left to the discretion of the Resident Commissioner as President of the Council whether Council is consulted or not.

6. Resolution 7 asks also for a declaration from the Paramount Chief, and in her letter No. 1/4 of the 10th May the Regent has written as follows:—

> " Chief, regarding these recommendations which were made and approved by the Council I beg to state that with reference to resolution 7 asking for a declaration by the Paramount Chief, I request His Honour the Resident Commissioner as President of the Basutoland Council to inform the Council that I as Paramount Chief of the Basuto Nation confirm that it is the policy of the Paramountcy to consult the Basutoland Council before issuing orders or making rules closely affecting the life or welfare of the Basuto people and the administration of the Basuto."

7. As regards resolution 8, I agree that it is desirable that the book of the Laws of Lerotholi should be amplified and revised as recommended in the first part of Council's resolution and that this task should be undertaken by the Standing Committee of Council assisted by a District Commissioner appointed by the Resident Commissioner. I also agree that it is desirable that this revised compilation of the Laws of Lerotholi should be kept up to date by further periodic amendment

* Y. 832/3: not printed.

† Not printed; the reply was in the terms recommended by the Resident Commissioner.

and revision. When the Standing Committee has completed its work the revised compilation of the Laws of Lerotholi should be submitted for the consideration of the Basutoland Council and of the Paramount Chief and Resident Commissioner and I suggest that Your Excellency should await their views and recommendations before deciding how and in what form the revised version of the " Laws of Lerotholi " should be issued.

8. I consider that the Council merits commendation for the progressive spirit it has shown in passing these resolutions.

9. On receipt of Your Excellency's reply to this despatch I propose in accordance with section 11 (as amended) of the Basutoland Council Proclamation to communicate to Council the assurance given by the Regent quoted in paragraph 6 and such replies to these resolutions as Your Excellency may desire to be communicated to the Council.

I have, &c.,

C. N. A. Clarke,

Resident Commissioner.

His Excellency,
The Right Honourable
Lord Harlech, P.C., G.C.M.G.

RESOLUTIONS UNANIMOUSLY ADOPTED BY THE BASUTOLAND COUNCIL DURING ITS SESSION, 23rd OCTOBER TO 5th NOVEMBER, 1943.

1. The Basutoland Council considers that Proclamations closely affecting the administration of the Basuto Nation or the life and welfare of the people should not be enacted until both the Paramount Chief and the Basutoland Council have been consulted.

2. In order to enable the Council to be consulted and to fulfil efficiently its function of advising the Paramount Chief and the Resident Commissioner on these important matters the Council considers that certain alterations in its constitution and procedure should be made. The Council considers that these alterations should be designed:—

(*a*) to bring Councillors into closer touch with the people and to provide machinery to enable the people to make their wishes known to Councillors,

(*b*) to make the Council more representative,

(*c*) to provide means whereby the Council can be consulted when it is not in session.

3. As regards (*a*) to bring Councillors into closer touch with the people and to provide machinery to enable the people to make their wishes known to Councillors, Council recommends that District Councils should be established which should meet not later than three months before the annual session of Council at the headquarters of each district under the Chairmanship of the District Commissioner. All principal Chiefs and members of the Basutoland Council in the District should be members of the District Council. At Pitsos to be held in each ward delegates should be nominated to attend the District Council and express the views of the people of their ward, the numbers of such delegates being proportionate to the numbers of taxpayers in each ward. Detailed proposals for the formation of these District Councils in each district should be prepared by the District Commissioners in consultation with the District Chiefs and submitted for the approval of the Paramount Chief and the Resident Commissioner. The functions of these District Councils will be to prepare motions for consideration by the Basutoland Council and to elect one member from the district for nomination as a member of the Basutoland Council.

4. As regards (*b*) to make the Council more representative, the Council recommends that the Paramount Chief nominate as a member of the Basutoland Council one person from each district who has been recommended for nomination by the District Council of each district. This will mean in effect that of the 94 members nominated by the Paramount Chief, nine will be elected by District Councils.

The Council further recommends that in addition to the nine elected members the Paramount Chief and the Resident Commissioner should by arrangement between them nominate as members of Council one or more representatives of the Agricultural Associations, of the Progressive Association, of the school teachers, of the Basuto business men, of the inmates of the Leper Settlement and after the war of the Basuto ex-Servicemen.

5. As regards (*c*) the means whereby Council can be consulted when it is not in session, the Council recommends that a Standing Committee of five members, of whom three should constitute a quorum, should be elected by Council to act as the advisory body representing the Council to which the Paramount Chief and the Resident Commissioner can refer when Council is not in Session. The Standing Committee should meet at Matsieng at least once every two months and more often, if necessary, for the transaction of its business and should present a report to Council on its work at each session. The Committee should hold office for the period of one financial year and its members will be eligible for re-election each year.

6. The Council considers that to enable it more efficiently to conduct the business of each session a committee consisting of one member from each district should be elected by Council at the close of each session. The duty of this Committee will be to meet a week or more before the opening of the next session to consider the motions submitted by District Councils and by members and make recommendations for the consideration of Council when it meets regarding the order and manner in which these motions should be dealt with and generally for the conduct of the business of the session.

7. The Council considers that if these recommendations are adopted Council will be able efficiently to fulfil its functions as an advisory body to the Paramount Chief and the Resident Commissioner. It therefore asks for a declaration by the High Commissioner on behalf of His Majesty's Government that it is the policy of His Majesty's Government to consult the Paramount Chief and the Basutoland Council before Proclamations closely affecting the administration of the country and the life and welfare of the people are enacted until the time comes for Basutoland to have its own Legislative Council.

Council also asks for a declaration by the Paramount Chief that it is the policy of the Paramountcy to consult the Council before issuing orders or making rules closely affecting the administration of the country and the life and welfare of the Basuto Nation.

8. The Council considers that the book of the Laws of Lerotholi, embodying some of the laws and customs of the Basuto, should be brought up to date and made more complete by the incorporation therein of the various amendments and additions which have from time to time been recommended by Council and of the principal rules and orders issued by the Paramount Chief and of decisions affecting these laws and customs that have been given in the High Court, since the Laws of Lerotholi were last amended in 1922.

The Council recommends that this work should be undertaken by the Standing Committee of Council with the assistance of a District Commissioner appointed by the Resident Commissioner. The Laws of Lerotholi as revised and amplified by the Committee should be submitted for the consideration of Council and of the Paramount Chief and Resident Commissioner and when approved should be printed and recognised as an authoritative statement of Basuto law and custom *in all the Courts of Basutoland*.

The Council recommends that every year thereafter a printed volume incorporating all amendments and additions to the Laws of Lerotholi recommended by Council and approved by the Paramount Chief, all new rules and orders issued by the Paramount Chief and all decisions of the High Court affecting these laws should be issued in the same way as is done in the case of Proclamations and Notices issued each year by the High Commissioner.

Y, 701/1/8. No. 21.

DESPATCH

from

HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR BASUTOLAND, THE BECHUANALAND PROTECTORATE AND SWAZILAND.

(Received 3rd July, 1944.)

Basutoland.

(No. 233A, Confidential.)

MY LORD, Cape Town, 16th June, 1944.

I report that I paid a short farewell visit to Basutoland from 12th to 14th June. The weather was most unseasonable for the time of year as it rained almost continuously throughout my visit. I was however enabled to pay a visit to the Paramount Chieftainess Regent at Matsieng and to take farewell of her and some of the principal Chiefs including the five elected members of the new Standing Committee of the Basutoland National Council. I thanked them for their co-operation and paid tribute to Basutoland's war effort in many directions, notably the gallantry and conduct of the Basuto now serving in Italy, to Basutoland's efforts in the battle for food, and in the recent progress and developments in the reform of Native Administration. The Regent and Chiefs expressed sorrow at my departure and deep appreciation of my visit.

2. I had a long meeting with our heads of departments in Maseru at which I took stock with them of the progress made and policy and projects for the future. Dr. Dyke, the Principal Medical Officer, as the oldest head of department present made a most kindly farewell speech on behalf of his colleagues. The Resident Commissioner gave a farewell evening party at the Residency at which leading unofficial Europeans and most of the senior officials and their wives were present.

3. In spite of shortage of staff, of materials and equipment real progress in many directions can happily be recorded.

4. Agriculturally, the season now closing has been, I fear, somewhat disappointing in spite of the efforts made by all. The acreage under arable crops was the highest in history. It would appear that the outturn of the wheat crop will be double that of last year, that of kaffir corn slightly less than last year, and maize about the same, on account of decreasing yields per acre on lands wearing out and climatic difficulties. However, it is hoped that the essential imports from the Union may not exceed the 50,000 bags of mealies which the Union have generously agreed to in spite of their own shortage.

5. This year the acreage under peas and beans in Basutoland has gone up 75 per cent. and both crops have done well. Much of these will be exported to the Union at excellent prices. The wool clip has again been good in quantity, quality and price. There has been a fair export of cattle for slaughter including 500 native bulls of doubtful quality and value to the Territory.

6. It has been very clearly demonstrated this season that dung manuring where practised has had a remarkable effect on the yields per acre of the maize crop. But this cannot become a widespread practice until we have more Scotch carts for distribution and until the people have more firewood for fuel. During the past season a further five million trees have been planted.

7. Although only four out of our eight tractors are still serviceable and all our gear is rapidly wearing out, a further 20,000 acres of erodable catchment areas have been " saved " by the construction of substantial contour banks.

8. The Financial Secretary informed us that when the final accounts have been made up including balances at the Crown Agents in London, the surplus balances standing to the credit of the Basutoland Government will just reach £500,000 at 31st March, 1944.

9. Probably the most serious embarrassment on the material and economic side in Basutoland lies with the Public Works Department and its manifold activities. Shortage of staff, European and African, and shortage of material is particularly noticeable in the building and housing department which is getting steadily more and more behind even essential necessities. Housing for Government European and still more for African staff is getting really serious, and war or no war the point has been reached when more must be done about it, and the many difficulties overcome. I am convinced that such work cannot be put out to private contract and that the building staff and labour of our Public Works Department must be expanded without delay, as the hardships to all are becoming intolerable.

10. I have come to the conclusion that in several departments the Public Works Department, the Police, and the Clerical we cannot hope to get the necessary staff either for urgent needs and still less for our post-war programme, unless we pay better salaries. The present scales of remuneration for European police of all ranks and for educated African clerks in Government service are such that we cannot compete with the Union or hope to retain those we have. Increased scales of remuneration have become absolutely necessary.

11. The strain on the administrative staff, especially on the Assistant District Commissioners, is getting unbearable. In fact they have little time to devote to their proper administrative duties and in assisting the Resident Commissioner in the much needed reforms of the Native Administration. All too much of their time is taken up with routine office work, mainly of a financial nature such as ledgers, revenue checking, paying out dependents' allowances, etc. We have some good juniors and their hearts are beginning to be broken by all this increasing burden of routine clerical work and their consequent inability to get about the districts and down to their proper work of controlling and supervising the native administration. Again all too much time of the District Commissioners is taken up in court work and correspondence. Much of this necessary routine work ought to be done by native clerks, but unless these are properly paid and properly trained the time of European officials will continue to be all too exclusively occupied in such secondary duties. Some of the older District Commissioners who entered the service as clerks many years ago are ageing under the strain and, accustomed to this routine office and court work, find it difficult to adjust themselves to the new political and administrative work involved in the progressive development of " indirect rule ". That there is some discontent among some of our administrative officers is as understandable as it is undoubted. But more important than this is the fundamental fact that Native Courts, Native Treasuries and Native Administration through Chiefs will not be what it ought to be unless both District Commissioners and Assistant District Commissioners have time away from their head offices in the Government camps to control and supervise them more effectively and maintain continuous personal contact with the various native authorities *in situ*. It is not merely a question of getting the new policy of reform inaugurated with my full approval by Colonel Arden Clarke across and accepted, but of cartying it out continuously especially in the new growing pains period that will call for the main efforts and time of all our District Officers. Things are " moving ", politically, in Basutoland, and when the 20,000 Basuto come back from Italy to civilian life they, after their experiences in Europe, may—in fact will—hasten the pace. The capacity, efficiency and forward-mindedness of our administrative staff will be tested as never before.

12. There are, of course, reactions to the recanvassing in the Union Press and elsewhere of the future of the High Commission Territories *vis-à-vis* the Union. I was again assured that it is not only all the natives of Basutoland who are adamant against transfer to the Union but all Europeans, unofficial as well as official. Whatever may be the differences of opinion in the other two Territories on this subject, Basutoland is solid and united.

13. From the first, the loyalty and the war effort of Basutoland has been quite outstanding. To visit Basutoland even in the most depressing weather is always a stimulus and a pleasure. There is so much doing there, such a fine spirit and opportunity that it has been a special pleasure to have been associated with it and its people. Much leadership, guidance and help will be needed, but we must never let the Basuto down. It would be a breach of faith and honour if we do.

I have, &c.,

HARLECH,

High Commissioner.

(b) The Bechuanaland Protectorate

Y. 1/70.

No. 22.

DESPATCH
from
HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR BASUTOLAND, THE BECHUANALAND PROTECTORATE AND SWAZILAND.

(Received 1st November, 1941.)

Bechuanaland Protectorate.

(No. 307, Confidential.)

MY LORD, Pretoria, 26th August, 1941.

After the gloom and depression caused by the conditions of misgovernment which I found in Swaziland, I am now able to report that my week's tour of the Bechuanaland Protectorate has more than restored my spirits to the point of some elation—at the evidences I saw of real progress and good Government in the latter. I am singularly fortunate in having in Bechuanaland Protectorate a really first class native Administrator in Clarke, ably seconded by Forsyth Thompson, his deputy and Government Secretary. I cannot speak too highly of the personality and capacity of both of these men.

2. Colonel (now Sir Charles) Rey left the Protectorate at loggerheads with my predecessor (Sir William Clark) and his staff in Pretoria, with all the best men in the Bechuanaland Protectorate Government service, with all the unofficial Europeans, and above all, with the Native Chiefs. Colonel Rey's aggressive egotism, his open lack of loyalty to the High Commissioner as well as lack of judgment created a profound suspicion of Government in the native mind. Clarke has re-established the most excellent relations with all sections of the community so estranged by his predecessor, and in every sphere of activity I found keenness and co-operation among all sections of the community.

3. But before dealing with matters that came more specifically to my attention I feel it may be useful if I set out the background of the Bechuanaland Protectorate so radically different in every way from the background of the other two High Commission territories.

4. The Bechuanaland Protectorate is a vast country, more than twice the size of the whole United Kingdom. It is a saucer in the central heart of Southern Africa—at least a thousand feet in altitude below the high veld of the Transvaal and Cape Bechuanaland to its east and south, and the same below Southern Rhodesia. It is for the most part definitely more tropical than either, but its chief characteristic is its much lower rainfall. In the Eastern belt either side of the railway from Mafeking to Bulawayo the annual rainfall averages some 16 inches, though even at Serowe, only 30 miles west of the railway, the recorded rainfall in some years has been only seven inches. West of this belt the rainfall is less and less till the absolute desert of the sandy Kalahari is reached. Only in the extreme north-west is the large oasis of the Okavango swamps fed annually by the river of that name descending in floods from the mountains of Portuguese Angola.

5. In the Bechuanaland Protectorate everything now and in the future turns on water, and is conditioned by its provision for man and beast during the long eight months of continuous drought each year. All that I saw this time of the country—*i.e.*, the area between Lobatsi in the south and Serowe in the north is grass and fairly dense orchard bush of a type I have previously driven through in western Tanganyika Territory. It is fine cattle country (always provided water is available) for those breeds of cattle, sheep and goats that can constitutionally stand up to drought conditions. The contrast between the Bechuanaland Protectorate and Basutoland will be realized in the following fundamental figures:—

	Area.	Native Population.
Bechuanaland Protectorate ..	275,000 square miles ..	250,000, *i.e.*, 0·9 per square mile.
Basutoland	11,000 square miles ..	660,000, *i.e.*, 60 per square mile.

The estimated cattle population of Bechuanaland is 800,000, that of Basutoland about 500,000. The latter is already near the " overstocking margin " for so small a country. Given more boreholes, dams and wells the cattle population of the former could be largely increased.

6. Agriculture—*i.e.*, cropping in the Bechuanaland Protectorate is necessarily a gamble on each season, and even then only the more drought-resisting varieties of cereals—kaffir corns and millets or one rather ugly-looking variety of maize, introduced from the arid States of the United States of America such as New Mexico and Arizona, are possible. The only practicable sheep in the Bechuanaland Protectorate are the blackheaded almost woolless Persian. The prevalence of thorn scrub makes heavy woolled sheep impracticable. Bechuana agriculturists are not only up against climate, but also the birds. The Protectorate is an ornithologist's paradise—never anywhere in the world have I seen in a few days such amazing quantities and variety of bird life from the wild ostrich, the greater bustard, eagles and hornbills, to vast flights of tiny finchlike birds. In the medium sized birds the rollers, the drongos, the shrikes and Burchell's starlings there is a wealth of brilliant and

vivid colour. Much of the country is infested with carniverous fauna, especially lion, leopard, lynx, jackal and wild cat which take no small annual toll of man's domesticated animals. The presence of this fauna in the Bechuanaland Protectorate is now evidenced henceforth on the floors of High Commission House by the size and variety of carpet karosses which, in accordance with established customs, were presented to me by the eight tribal Chiefs who assembled to meet me with due ceremonial at Gaberones on this my first official appearance.

7. I was warned not to trust the last census figures in regard to population or its present distribution. The Bamangwato (about 110,000) are the largest, wealthiest and most progressive tribe, now under the leadership of the Regent Chief Tshekedi—old Khama's youngest son. In addition to meeting him first at the inspection of the Bechuana African Auxiliary Pioneer Corps (for the moment Tshekedi's chief enthusiasm) in camp at Lobatsi, at the Agricultural Show at Mochudi (Bagkatla reserve), at the formal and informal meetings of all the Chiefs together at Gaberones, I spent a whole day with him at his capital at Serowe. Serowe is the largest purely native town in Southern Africa and at this time of year when agricultural work on the land is out of the question contains some 30,000 inhabitants—nearly one-third of the whole tribe.

8. My personal reactions to Tshekedi were very favourable, an example of similarities rather than opposites forming quick mutual understanding and sympathy. In temperament, character and outlook I am conscious that Tshekedi and I have a great deal in common. His radical Toryism is like my own, as is his interest in all the varied aspects of public life and administration. His liability periodically to go off the deep end, his " Celtic " love of oratory and quick repartee, combined with no little artful cunning, his easy charm as a host attracted me. I had tea with Tshekedi, his wife and sister in his own private house. This, I understand, set a new precedent for High Commissioners in the future. It was a real pleasure to me as further evidence of the inherent courtesy, and good manners of the African. Tshekedi's industry, ability and vitality are remarkable. His competitive vanity *vis-à-vis* his fellow Chiefs and others is evident, but in the circumstances a not entirely blameworthy shortcoming. With the exception of Bathoen, Chief of the Bangwaketse (capital at Kanye) none of the other Bechuana Chiefs are in the hunt with him. Bathoen, with a much smaller tribe and himself physically somewhat insignificant, is the only other well educated, modern and progressive Chief. Bathoen has probably better judgment than Tshekedi, equal zeal and industry, but less initiative and force. The other six Chiefs, old and young—two of them very young—are miles behind Tshekedi and Bathoen in personal capacity for rule. The two modern Chiefs and Clarke with his Nigerian experience and full-fledged Cameronian doctrines on the subject of indirect rule are carrying the Protectorate forward at a stiff pace—a pace on the hot side for the less advanced Chiefs and tribes. But even in the latter there are very real signs of progress.

9. This is only the fourth year since Native Treasuries have been operating on Nigerian lines. I was glad of the opportunity of being able to make a fairly careful examination of Tshekedi's Treasury, its organization, accounts and staff. Last year the Bamangwato Native Treasury receipts amounted to £15,500 and the expenditure to £15,326. In the current year's estimates the revenue looks like being up by £1,000 and the expenditure down by nearly that amount. The Reserve Funds in hand amounted to over £11,000 at 31st March this year. The whole process of estimating, deciding on salaries and other expenditure, and detailed financial control throughout the year struck me as most competently and conscientiously done; and the native authority (in this case an *ad hoc* finance committee) has been given a very real say in decisions. During last year the expenditure of Tshekedi's administration was apportioned as follows:—Central and district salaries, Judicial, Treasury, and Tribal police cost the Native Treasury £4,500; Native Education £5,270; Agriculture and Veterinary £380; Capital Works £3,000; Public Works Recurrent £850; Miscellaneous £1,200.

10. At present the Native Treasuries in the Bechuanaland Protectorate get 35 per cent. of the direct tax paid by the taxpayers of their tribe, and the product of the additional war levy, as well as Court fines and sundry licences. In Nigeria the percentage goes up to 70 per cent. and in some cases 75 per cent. as more services and more native responsibility are taken over from the British Administration by the Native authorities. As and when the Bechuanaland Protectorate revenues can afford it, the percentage allocated to be at the disposal of the Native Treasuries should be steadily increased. I am convinced that the delegation of effective native authority, responsibility and especially financial responsibility for their own local Government, including " development " services, should and must grow. Native Treasuries are in my judgment the very kernel of indirect rule as it should be practised in the British Empire.

11. The descent of the Chieftainship among the Bechuana is by strict primogeniture, and Tshekedi is only Chief Regent for his elder brother's eldest son now at Lovedale, and shortly proceeding to Fort Hare. There will inevitably be a period of some anxiety and tension when this regency comes to an end and the " rightful " young Chief takes over. I saw a typical example of this difficulty now operating in the Bagkatla tribe at Mochudi consequent on the demise of the able and progressive avuncular Regent, Isang Pilane, and the early coming of age of his less capable nephews. The elder of these is now a sergeant in the African Auxiliary Pioneer Corps in camp at Lobatsi, where it is hoped that military service may save him from undue indulgence in alcoholic refreshment and somewhat lighthearted irresponsibility. The Bamangwato under Khama and still under Tshekedi are exceptional in being a strictly teetotal tribe pretty effectively enforced with penalties by native customary law.

12. But all Bechuana tribes are blessed and safeguarded by the Kgotla system of quasi democratic control that is entirely absent in Swaziland and pretty thin at present in Basutoland where, in my opinion, the Chiefs have to much power relatively to the commonalty. Men like Tshekedi and Bathoen by personal pre-eminence may appear to have great power, but in Bechuanaland not even Tshekedi can decide or commit his people without long debate and patient persuasion in Kgotla. In Kgotla all the " freemen " (in effect taxpayers) have the right to appear and speak, and they exercise this right in fact. For judicial and to some extent administrative purposes there

is a whole hierarchy of " Kgotlas," beginning with the family Kgotla inside the stockade of a single group of huts, up through the clan and district Kgotlas to the Chiefs' Kgotla in which hundreds may assemble and have the right to speak with something not unlike " privilege of Parliament." This system is a great asset in keeping the tribe *au fait* with public affairs, and in ensuring that public opinion is adequately consulted before changes are introduced or any important questions of policy or administration decided by the responsible native authority.

13. One sees the effect of this on the character of the Central African Advisory Council held annually at Mafeking, where either the Resident Commissioner or the Chief brings forward projects and subjects for discussion or for action in the ensuing year. This is a useful and business-like body, but it tables no resolutions or decisions. It has a series of second reading debates without proceeding to a vote; and then the Chiefs and their headmen who accompany them carry the matters discussed back to their Kgotlas, and legislation and action only follow when the Chiefs report the views thrashed out in Kgotla. The word " Council " is specially unpopular in the Bechuanaland Protectorate as it smacks of the Union's system of native administration which are suspect, to say the least of it, among all the Bechuana tribes.

14. At Serowe I noted the growth of an excellent whole-time paid Native Civil Service. Tshekedi goes to the length of having his own fully trained African lady stenographer (shorthand in English only, typing in English and Sechuana). The Native Treasurer and the Chief Native Court clerks struck me as able and keen African Civil Servants. The native Court records are admirably kept by the " scribes."

15. Tshekedi is an enthusiast for education and I had to visit all too many schools—some of them built as memorials to Khama—some through the use of communal tribal labour by designated " regiments " or age groups. The Teachers' Training College for pupil teachers who have passed standard VI with its attached " model rural school " of standards I and II struck me as admirable. A beginning has been made with school vegetable gardens, a much needed new development.

16. I could go on at perhaps undue length on the, to me, all-important subject of native administration, so gratifyingly built up in the Bechuanaland Protectorate on sound and progressive lines, by the effective and intimate personal co-operation of the Resident Commissioner, his individual administrative officers and the native chiefs and their kgotlas—again how far removed from the antithesis still obtaining in backward Swaziland.

17. The Bechuanaland Protectorate is on the whole fortunate in its European heads of technical departments and their relations with the District Administrative Service. It has a real flier in Mr. Brind, the Director of Public Works. In all my experience of vetting, now about twenty-eight Colonial Administrations in the field, I have never met a better or more resourceful head of the Public Works Department. The Directors of Education and Veterinary services are both definitely good. The Director of Medical services, Dr. Stirling, is the weakest link in the chain and the Medical Department will need a new and much younger doctor from outside to bring it up to even a reasonable standard of what should be. Preventive medicine is in tropical Africa so much more important than hospital equipment. The head of the Agricultural Department, Mr. England, is keen and understands the technical aspects of his job, but he is of the tactless rather dictatorial type and is departmentally competitive. His work on the selection of drought and bird resistant varieties of seed, and his work on green crops are excellent, but he is not the man to carry Chiefs, much less Kgotlas with him by patient persuasion. The Chief Officer of the Police is definitely good, and the Financial Secretary excellent. A lot of European officials are ripe or already overdue for retirement and are just carrying on for the war as practically all the bachelors and juniors have been released from the Protectorate service to join up either in the Union Forces or in the new Bechuanaland African Auxiliary Pioneer Corps. The service is now skeletoned to the bare bones—and when the war ends there will be a sudden big bill for " retiring gratuities " as well as an increase in pension charges. Above all there stands out the necessity of introducing new blood and new young men in all departments from outside, preferably direct from England or the Colonial Services rather than from South Africa.

18. It was fortunate for the Bechuanaland Protectorate that the recent grants or loans from the Colonial Development Fund had enabled a beginning to be made in the three most vital economic needs of the Protectorate, viz., (1) Water supplies, (2) Communications, and (3) Livestock improvement centres (grading up the quality of the native stock by introducing really good bulls and rams). The sudden stoppage of these long overdue and beneficent activities has of course been tragic but inescapable. The programme needs resuming as soon as practicable, and in the surest and only way to making the Bechuanaland Protectorate self-supporting and so freed from the ever blighting dead hand of United Kingdom Treasury control (not the least of whose attendant evils is the enormous consumption of stationery involved at all stages over the most trifling matters and the reduction of the High Commissioner's function to that of a mere post office).

19. This year has seen an " unearned " windfall for the Protectorate Government commensurate with the former grant-in-aid from the United Kingdom, viz., the " income tax " payable to the Bechuanaland Protectorate Government by the Rhodesia Railways Companies for the magnificent traffic receipts they have been earning during the war, both from the use of their railway in conveying Union forces, material and lorries up to Broken Hill, and from the expanding copper and coal traffic out of the Rhodesias. Though the Bechuanaland Protectorate has contributed little or nothing to the increased receipts of the railway, they are obtaining this year about £80,000 from the Rhodesia Railway Companies in " income tax "! I fear that this is too good fortune to last—but in effect it is saving both the United Kingdom taxpayer from contributing and the Bechuanaland Protectorate from actual indigency. With so much additional traffic much of the track passing through the Bechuanaland Protectorate is now in a most rotten condition. The roads in Bechuanaland are almost universally deplorable and will need considerable expenditure in the future, if either administration or commerce are to be tolerably conducted.

20. The individual generosity of people in the Bechuanaland Protectorate towards voluntary war funds, both by natives and Europeans, has been truly remarkable considering their inherent poverty.

21. The enthusiasm of all—and especially of the natives—for active service in the armed forces is sincere and exemplary. With so small and scattered a population it was thought unlikely that they could raise more than 3,000 natives for the African Auxiliary Pioneer Corps, but it has now been decided to aim at raising 5,000 and it is expected that this will be realized. There is a good deal of " rivalry " between the tribes in this matter. There has been, I fear, a high percentage of rejections of volunteers by the medical officers, the main causes, particularly at this time of year, being " malnutrition, scurvy and digestive troubles." In the dry season there is little green food, no fruit, no vegetables and the native diet is entirely restricted to meat and grains. Nutritional problems in the Bechuanaland Protectorate are very real and serious everywhere and will need a good deal of attention.

22. As in Basutoland so in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, loyalty to the King and to England is intense—the more intense because of their antipathy to the Union of South Africa. One of the Bechuanaland Protectorate Chiefs lives in Mafeking and most of his people are in the Union, and only a minority in our Protectorate. When asked why he was so hostile to the idea of the whole of his tribe going into the Union he replied " But you English treat us as men." He added nothing more. As for the other tribes they are adamant and fierce on this issue, and I am clear that it will be many, many years before they are the least likely to take any other view. As in the case of Basutoland so in regard to the Bechuanaland Protectorate I can see no prospect of our being able to implement the schedule to the South African Act of Union of 1910 without dishonour and active native resistance.

23. On this occasion I was unable to visit Maun, the headquarters station near the Okavango swamps in the far north-west, 300 miles by very bad road from the nearest railway station. There, I understand, is a complex of a small Bantu tribe (the Batawana) under a young rather weak Chief named Moremi, a large number of Damaras (Hereros who fled in from German South West), nomadic Bushmen and Bushmen half-castes, and small remnants of riverine swamp tribes. The country is malarious and infested with Tsetse fly (*morsitans* variety), crocodiles and vast quantities of big game which spread helminthic and other stock diseases. This area is now exporting cattle via the Upper Zambezi and Livingstone to the Northern Rhodesia Copperbelt, and in recent years such of the population as can pass the doctor are going for the first time to the Witwatersrand mines and so earning some money. Cut off by desert from the rest of the Protectorate it is a sort of oasis with special problems, as specialized as the long toed wading birds that are to be found there. There and only there is there an excess of water, now mainly sustaining papyrus and other valueless water plants. But even the Batawana have begun a Native Treasury whose annual budget balances at about £3,000! The total population is hard to estimate but it may be between 40,000 and 50,000 souls.

24. Missionary effort was famous in Bechuanaland in the nineteenth century. It is now very much curtailed, the predominant London Missionary Society having neither the men nor the funds to sustain their initial beneficial effort. They have left no small mark on the Bamangwato. The Roman Catholic missions between Gaberones and Lobatsi are German and consequently quite ineffective at least for the time being.

25. The unofficial Europeans, landholders and farmers, other than those in the Tati Concession (really part of Rhodesia) and in the British South Africa Company's own ranch at Lobatsi, are small beer always hovering on the borders of bankruptcy. Some of the European traders are quite prosperous, but I suppose the bulk of the small European population (now said to be 1,700 of all ages and sexes) are Government or railway employees and their families. The Bechuanaland Protectorate is too tropical to be a good country for European children between the ages of 10 and 16. It will always be essentially a Native Protectorate ideally suited to be run on our approved tropical African lines. The chances that there are mineral deposits of any value seem extremely remote (again unlike Swaziland), and the economy of the people for all time must be based on cattle. The Bechuanaland Protectorate postage stamps are very right to depict a herd of native cattle under the King's head.

26. The conclusion of every speech in public is the word " Pula." Greetings and farewells begin and end with " Pula," which means rain. Rain—the always scanty and capricious rainfall circumscribes life and activity of all kinds in the Bechuanaland Protectorate within set, narrow limits barely susceptible of change. But within those limits, limits decreeing essential poverty, I found a happy, progressive, well governed and good people, and administration, native as well as European, in which one felt a pride and satisfaction to play a part. My visit to Bechuanaland has been as heartening as that to Swaziland was depressing.

27. I send in addition to this the customary formal despatch* recording my detailed itinerary and a copy of my speech* to the assembled Chiefs and people.

I have, &c.,

HARLECH,

High Commissioner.

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* Not printed.

Y. 1/74A.

No. 23.

DESPATCH

from

HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR BASUTOLAND, THE BECHUANALAND PROTECTORATE AND SWAZILAND.

(Received 16th June, 1942.)

Bechuanaland Protectorate.
(No. 187.)

Pretoria, 25th May, 1942.

SIR,

I have the honour to report that I arrived at Francistown by train from Pretoria early on the morning of 16th May.

2. Francistown is the administrative centre of the Tati Concession, a block of 2,000 square miles bounded on the south and west by the Shashi River and on the north and east by the Matopo hills. This area was the scene of gold discoveries by European prospectors before the discovery of gold on the Witwatersrand, before the establishment of the British Protectorate over what is now the Bechuanaland Protectorate and before the concessions to Rhodes and Rudd which led to the formation of the British South Africa Company. The Tati Concession was made to two brothers Francis by Lobengula, then independent Chief of the Matabele, who were the *de facto* rulers of the country. After litigation over a period of years the Privy Council in England confirmed the validity of the concession involving absolute freehold title to the whole of the land and minerals to what is now the Tati Company. One of the present consequences is the Bechuanaland Protectorate Government pays a rent of £1,000 a year to the Tati Company for the several small native reserves which have been demarcated in the concession area. These natives, under several small sub-chiefs, are neither Bamangwato—their neighbours to the south and west—nor Matabele—their neighbours to the north. Though they understand Sechuana their own first language is Sekalaka.

3. The Tati concession area contains the most considerable European settlement in both numbers and wealth in the Bechuanaland Protectorate. The principal gold mine, close to Francistown, is the Monarch mine belonging to the Tati Goldfields Company which still produces about 800 ounces of gold per month and gives regular employment to about 30 European staff and 700 natives. Other smaller gold mines in the area produce another 400 ounces per month. Most of the land is leased to European farmers—mainly ranchers and cattle dealers. Bulawayo is only 92 miles distant by road and is the commercial and social centre for the inhabitants of the concession whose sentiments are not a little with the Colony of Southern Rhodesia.

4. The morning of 16th May was mainly occupied by the ceremonial parade held in Francistown for the purpose of handing over to Colonel Arden Clarke the C.M.G. conferred on him by His Majesty last year. I proceeded to the arena with a mounted escort of Bechuanaland Protectorate Police. There was a large attendance of both Europeans and natives. Colonel Clarke approached me with four supporters, viz., Mr. Forsyth Thompson, Deputy Resident Commissioner, Major Hurndall, Chief of the Bechuanaland Protectorate Police, Mr. MacFarlane, the representative of Francistown on the European Advisory Council and senior member of that body, and Chief Bathoen II, who had been designated by all the Bechuanaland Protectorate Chiefs to represent them at this ceremony. Chief Tshekedi was also present.

5. Attending the Parade were various representative bodies, such as the Wayfarers, Pathfinders, African Women War Workers, etc. After speeches the African Anthem was sung and " God Save The King " by all present. We were entertained at luncheon by Mr. Dewar, Managing Director of the Tati Company. In the afternoon I inspected the large camp of the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association in Francistown which is the centre where recruits for the mines from Angola, Northern Rhodesia and the northern half of the Bechuanaland Protectorate are assembled, rested, medically inspected and equipped before being sent on by train to Johannesburg. Like every institution of the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association, it is lavishly equipped and admirably managed. We then went over the Monarch gold mine, and in the evening gave a sundowner party at the principal hotel to about a hundred members of the European community, who have been outstandingly generous to all war funds. There is a happy, loyal and friendly atmosphere in Francistown.

6. On the morning of the 17th, accompanied by Colonel Arden Clarke, C.M.G., and my son, I left Francistown by an aeroplane, generously placed at my disposal by General Smuts. We flew due west 300 miles to Maun, the administrative capital of Ngamiland, and headquarters of the Batawana tribe. The country between Francistown and Maun is featureless and from the air apparently quite flat and virtually uninhabited. It is an extremely low rainfall area, and the soil is very poor and sandy. We crossed from east to west right over the vast Makarikari salt pan, a salt desert nearly as large as Swaziland, formerly an inland sea. The summer rains leave a few pools of brackish water in some corners of it, the haunt of flocks of pink flamingoes.

7. The shores of the Makarikari are covered with Karoo salt bush which provides sustenance and the only moisture for large herds of springbok, a small antelope which can apparently exist without drinking.

8. We completed our journey in two and a half hours; the journey by road, and a tiring sandy road at that, would have taken us two days!

9. The Makarikari pan is the lowest part of the Bechuanaland Protectorate, and the following table of altitude in metres above sea-level is of some importance in forming a picture of the fundamental lay-out of the north Bechuanaland Protectorate:—

Bulawayo	1,473 metres to the North-East.
Francistown	992 metres to the East.
Confluence of the River Chobi with the Zambezi ..	924 metres to the North.
Maun	940 metres to the West.
Rakops	922 metres to the South.
Bed of the Makarikari Salt Pan	894 metres.

10. The town of Maun is situated on a long sand bank about 40 feet in height running north-east and south-west between the perennial Maun river and the great triangle of the Okovango swamps. It is to the eye a charming oasis with large ficus and Mopane trees, its river running between grassy banks, full of white water lilies. It has a fascinating bird life of its own, the most remarkable species being the lily trotter, a brown and white wader, which for its size has the longest toes of any bird in the world. These enable it to perform feats of equilibrium on a single lily leaf that are a marvel of fine adjustment! Along the river are plantations of banana, tomatoes and vegetables. The formerly existing freshwater Lake Ngami lies about 40 miles south-west of Maun. It has not had any surface water in it since 1925. It is now a large grass pan providing feed for large herds of cattle, who can be watered from wells sunk in the former lake bed.

11. The annual rainfall of Ngamiland consisting of a few torrential storms in the summer seldom exceeds ten inches, and, except for the great Okovango swamps, the immediate neighbourhood of the Maun river and its continuance as the Botletle which winds eastward towards the Makarikari salt pan is an arid, or at best semi-arid, hot desert. Yet in Ngamiland, administered from Maun, there are some 40,000 human beings and at least 120,000 head of cattle.

12. I am the first High Commissioner ever to have visited Maun officially, and our arrival was regarded as a great occasion by Europeans and natives alike, and there had been a considerable assembly of both from outstations into Maun. There are quite a few European traders in Maun, including a colony of fourteen British Greek Cypriots from Paphos who have been settled in Maun for the last thirty years. There are a District Commissioner, Assistant District Commissioner, Police Officer, and Veterinary Officer stationed at Maun. There is a wireless transmitting station, aerodrome, hotel, W.N.L.A. Camp and office, a large hospital staffed by the Seventh Day Adventist Mission (an American doctor from California), a London Missionary Society Mission which runs a maternity and child welfare clinic and a small European school.

13. Chief Moremi has his house and Kgotla in Maun and is the Chief of the whole area. His court is a court of first instance for the Capital and a Court of Appeal for the whole of Ngamiland. He has a Native Treasury and Treasurer, and a large native administration school. He speaks excellent English and was educated at Tiger Kloof. He married with Christian rites in the Methodist Chapel at Bloemfontein a former school mate at Tiger Kloof from the Orange Free State. His wife is a well educated, progressive and active African lady. Chief Moremi is young and though pleasant mannered and well meaning is not strong physically or a forceful personality—surrounded by a rather formidable looking lot of uneducated primitive old uncles and elderly relations, for whom copious indulgence in kaffir beer is the corollary of Chiefly birth. His responsibilities are not rendered easier by the fact that his tribe, the Batawana, are probably barely a fourth of the total native population. They are masters of the other peoples—many formerly their slaves—and still regarding themselves as detribalized " servants " of the Batawana. More formidable are colonies of Damaras, independent refugees without tribal organization of their own from the pre-1914 persecutions of the German authorities in South West Africa. Physically and mentally these Damaras are superior to the Batawana. It is estimated that in Ngamiland there are over 5,000 dwarf nomadic bushmen. These yellow aboriginals are still in the " mesolithic " stage of culture. They are purely individualistic and nomadic food gatherers, and not food producers. They live on game by hunting it with bows and poisoned arrows—on roots and berries and the wild desert water melon. They can construct nothing better than a temporary grass hut. They follow the desert antelope. A Bushman can live longer than a camel without drink. Their meals, apart from the wild berries and melons, consist of antelope, on which they gorge themselves like pythons, following this enormous meat meal by unusually long sleep, and days of abstinence till another " kill " is effected. They poison their arrowheads with a small desert worm which acts on the blood of vertebrate animals like snakebite. Their only other weapon beside the bow with which they have amazing skill is their flint knife, made by pressure flaking. Their level of culture corresponds in no small way to that of Tardenesian man in England in the 4th Millenium B.C. The Bushman's language, if the system of communication by a series of click sounds may be given the name, is of the most limited vocabulary. Any attempt to impose our ideas of criminal jurisprudence on the Ngamiland Bushman is necessarily abortive. They have no property or wealth, and any attempt to keep them in any sort of confinement—much less prison walls—results in early and peculiarly rapid death. The Bushman is as unadministrable as he is untaxable and uneducable, and he ranks with the black folk of Northern Australia as the most primitive survival in this century of a separate species of *homo sapiens*, if the epithet may be somewhat strained for his benefit.

14. The economics of Maun are conditioned by its remoteness. Three roads lead to Maun. All are bad and baffling to maintain through stretches of wind-blown sand along dreary miles of flat country. The best road—320 miles—is to Francistown, mainly constructed and maintained by the Witwatersrand Native Labour Association. The other roads are one north-east, via Kasane, to the Victoria Falls (310 miles), and the third, via Rakops and Serowe, Palapye Road Station (350 miles). Costs of transport in and out are necessarily very high. A bag of mealies (200 lb.) costing 15*s.* in Francistown is accordingly 35*s.* a bag in Maun when this is imported. Alternatively, it does not pay to export crops grown in or near Maun, the sole exports of Ngamiland at present being cattle on the hoof—only practicable during the short rainy season—and human labour to the mines. Everything from Rhodesia or the Union purchasable by Europeans or natives in Maun is at least double the price in Francistown. So Ngamiland has to be as self-supporting as possible.

15. The many problems of Ngamiland arise, however, by and because of the Okovango swamp. This is a great water-logged triangle or delta, each side of which measures about 100 miles. The Okovango river comes down from the high plateau of Angola as a deep single stream entering the Bechuanaland Protectorate at Muhembo. Soon after this it breaks up into innumerable shifting sluggish channels which get choked up with papyrus, moving slowly in a south-easterly direction amid thousands of palm or tree clad islands and shallow swamp pans. In a direct line (not that such a thing exists in fact) the average fall is about six inches per mile. Most of this valuable water

is lost by evaporation or respiration through untamed vegetation. The time taken by water to pass through these swamps is given by the customary annual date of highest flood where the Okovango enters the swamp, viz., March, and high water at Maun itself, viz., the end of August.

16. Formerly the main western channel, called the Taoghe, flowed from north to south into Lake Ngami. This channel has become completely choked and blocked in its lower reaches, and the bulk of the water from the Okovango river starts down the north-eastern channel, called the Nghoka. This, increasingly silting up in the higher reaches, spreads out into many changing subdivisions and such water as is not evaporated finds its way in the main stream of the Maun river near the eastern angle of the great delta. It is probable, too, that in past ages the River Kwando, parallel to the Okovango, found its way, via Maun, into the Makarikari salt lake. Now its waters make a sharp north-easterly turn into the Chobe and so into the Zambezi.

17. We spent most of 18th May flying over the swamps sometimes low over the tree tops and sometimes 13,500 feet up for the purpose of taking a series of aerial survey photographs with a view to making some mosaic maps of selected areas. The great triangle is teeming with wild game, and we saw many herds of African buffalo, blue wildebeeste, giraffe, waterbuck, reedbuck, tsessebe, lechwe, and great quantities of bush pig. The hippopotamus and lion abound. It was a marvellous sight. But man enters the swamps at his peril as this plethora of game is the sustenance of enormous quantities of tsetse fly—*glossina morsitans*—which feeds only on the blood of man and animals. These tsetse are infected with both animal and human trypanosomes, fatal to cattle and man unless cured. This season there has been a specially bad outbreak of this " sleeping sickness " in the inhabited zone on the western edge of the swamps. The disease is epidemic—flaring up and dying down at intervals. The natives call it the " honey disease " as they knew they were liable to get it if they dared enter the swamps to collect the copious honey of the wild bees. Every ward and verandah of the hospital in Maun was crammed with sleeping sickness patients at the time of my inspection, and there is a camp for convalescents recovering. Thanks to injections of Bayer 205 and similar drugs the vast majority of sufferers have been saved from death. But since the outbreak became formidable last Christmas there has been some known and probably more unknown mortality, and the Government and Native staff is busy rounding up and bringing in sufferers from the threatened area. As often happens the tsetse fly has been invading the inhabited area from the swamps and the Director of Public Works is engaged on clearing big anti-fly belts by clean clearing and burning strips a mile wide—the range of flight of the *glossina morsitans* being less than this distance except on the backs of wild game animals. The Veterinary Officer has been most successful in saving some thousands of native cattle from death by injections with tartar emetic.

18. Anywhere near the swamps, too, malaria is endemic, as the anopheline mosquito as well as every other known blood sucking insect is present in conditions ideal for its survival in vast quantity.

19. To canalize, drain or control this vast now useless and dangerous swamp is a labour of Hercules, and at such a remote spot in the Empire might entail the eventual expenditure of £1,000,000! A certain Professor Schwarz advanced the idea that the Zambezi could be diverted into Ngamiland and by abolishing the Victoria Falls make the deserts of the Northern Bechuanaland Protectorate blossom like the rose. This would cost even more millions, but, more important, it would seem that his altitude measurements were all wrong and that the law of gravity is against him and the whole idea lacks fundamental practicability, quite apart from anything the riparian interests of the existing Zambezi valley from the Victoria Falls to the sea might have to say about it. We spent a whole morning " exploring " the whole swamp triangle from the air.

20. After luncheon we got into full uniform and had a formal meeting in Kgotla with Chief Moremi and his assembled followers. It was a colourful gathering, very well stage-managed with the usual addresses and replies from myself. I attach a copy of Chief Moremi's address. The chief demand, reiterated by the few Europeans interested in ranching or the cattle trade, was for ammunition for the miscellaneous rifles—European and Native owned—to keep down the lions. At least 2,000 cattle have been known to have been killed by lion this year, and consequent on the inability to obtain ammunition for this purpose because of the war and the monopoly needs of the fighting services, lion have been increasing in number and boldness. In peacetime very large quantities of lion are shot every year in Ngamiland. They are always the principal cause of mortality—more than any single disease or even old age—among cattle in this area.

21. Maun has recruited and sent to the Middle East a full company of African Auxiliary Pioneer Corps enlisted last year. Their Chiefs and people were delighted to hear the good reports I was able to give of them, and are keenly interested in their welfare and the progress of the war. There are several wireless receiving sets in Maun, and through this medium—and practically that alone—Maun is kept in touch with the war and the outside world. The local administrative Government wireless from Mafeking is invaluable as the main means of communication. Posts are capricious.

22. In future in peace-time the Bechuanaland Protectorate Government ought to have and maintain its own Government aeroplane to enable the Resident Commissioner, heads of departments, etc., to maintain reasonable personal contact with the administration of Ngamiland.

23. After two nights in the comfortable residence at Maun we flew north-eastward to the Chobe valley and so down that river to its confluence with the Zambezi near Kasani and thence down the Zambezi to Livingstone. In the clear still cloudless sunshine the white patch of spray above the Victoria Falls was visible from our aeroplane 80 miles away. Along the Zambezi we sighted a herd of African elephant and took several low turns over them to our interest and their obvious dissatisfaction.

24. I joined the rest of my family for one night at the Victoria Falls Hotel and while the Union plane conveyed Colonel Clarke back to Mafeking, I was given a Southern Rhodesia Government plane with a Royal Air Force pilot to carry me from the Falls direct to Salisbury. We flew down

the full length of the great gorge of the Zambezi, still in high and angry flood across the dreary uninhabited low bush of Northern Matabeleland, the native reserves and European farms of Western Mashonaland, reaching Salisbury from the Falls in exactly three hours.

25. At Salisbury I stayed with the Acting Governor, Sir Fraser Russell, and had as my fellow guests Sir John and Lady Waddington, the Governor of Northern Rhodesia, for the purpose of conferring with Sir Godfrey Huggins and his Cabinet colleagues on certain railway matters of common interest to the Rhodesias and the Bechuanaland Protectorate. These will be the subject of a separate communication.

26. The development of Ngamiland is obviously a long range post-war problem. Meanwhile, the drought of the past season in the rest of the Protectorate has again brought out the fact that all progress in wealth and health is contingent on the better provision of water for man, his cattle and his crops. Three-quarters of the population of the Protectorate live within fifty miles of the railway line running between Mafeking and Francistown. Accordingly it is in this area that such money and manpower as are available must be concentrated for this all important purpose. Rainfall is everywhere sparse and capricious. All the more reason therefore that the best measures for the conservation and use of what little there is must be employed. The staff and machinery for boring and providing pumps, financed by the Colonial Development Fund has gone elsewhere for war purposes. The two practicable steps that remain possible are first the continuance of the survey so as to ensure that when skilled staff and plant are again available the programme can be renewed with the best hopes of success, and second, the construction of surface dams in those water courses where this is practicable. Such dams are of the utmost value, but they are only valuable if the configuration of the valley to be dammed is such that a considerable volume of water can be stored in depth, and the geological strata are impermeable. Two such dams of considerable size have recently been completed, one near Kanye and one near Gaberones. Both should enable cultivation under perennial irrigation to be undertaken, which will be of immense value to the local population. It is desirable, however, to add a caution that the number of similar sites in so flat a country is likely to be few and far between. In the Bechuanaland Protectorate it has been the custom of the people to live in large native towns such as Serowe, Kanye, Mochudi and Molepolole. This has its great advantages from an administrative and educational point of view, and movement of the people to new dam sites will not be entirely easy. Nevertheless, there are already the signs of outward movement to new villages at such cattle posts as have a reasonable supply of water.

27. The Bechuanaland Protectorate can never be a rich country, but its natives, with their closely knit and unbroken tribal organization and their capacity for adapting themselves to their very special and difficult environment, are remarkable. They are a progressive people, and the recent introduction of tribal treasuries is proving a great success. The establishment of one or more high grade and technical schools is a development that should be pursued as an essential feature of post-war reconstruction.

28. I cannot conclude this despatch without special mention of the energy, leadership and tact shown by Colonel Arden Clarke as Resident Commissioner. The Protectorate has been singularly fortunate in having him at the head of its administration. I feel that a special tribute is also due to Mr. Brind, the invaluable and energetic Director of Public Works. His ubiquitous knowledge of a vast country, his many sided gifts and capacity for self-education and his ability to get the utmost value out of every penny spent have made him a first class head of a technical department. The work of the Veterinary Department under the able and enthusiastic direction of Mr. Hobday is also deserving of very high praise. The Protectorate has been fortunate, too, in having in recent years two out of its eight principal Chiefs of such ability as Chief Tshekedi and Chief Bathoen II. They have not only co-operated with Government for the advancement of their tribes, but have given a lead to the entire African population. The mishandling of the former during former administrations was as regrettable as it was unnecessary. Doubtless the unhappy events of the past made Tshekedi difficult and suspicious, but his personal affection for Colonel Arden Clarke and his exceptional intelligence have opened a new and better chapter in our relations.

I have, &c.,

HARLECH,

High Commissioner.

Enclosure in No. 23.

THE RIGHT HONOURABLE LORD HARLECH, P.C., G.C.M.G., D.C.L. (HIS MAJESTY'S HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR BASUTOLAND, THE BECHUANALAND PROTECTORATE AND SWAZILAND).

May it please your Excellency to accept on behalf of myself and the Batawana Tribe these our greetings and an expression of loyalty. We welcome our father, namely yourself and your party with cheers and exceeding joy. In the history of this part of the Protectorate we have never been honoured by a visit from the High Commissioner. However, our hearts are indeed filled with happiness to see our father here, particularly in these difficult times of destitution imposed by war conditions which have afflicted the world. As life is never devoid of difficulties there are certain obstacles which retard our progress. We have already placed some of these before the Resident Commissioner. And as the head of the flock, I am reporting to Your Excellency that the Batawana Tribe has become extinct. The death-rate was very high during the past year. Sleeping sickness too has caused many deaths.

The beasts of prey have increased in numbers to such an extent that I think Your Excellency will allow us a more relaxed application of the Proclamation dealing with arms and ammunition than is the case with the other districts of the Protectorate.

I wish to say that the Tribe, now deprived of watering facilities by the tsetse fly will be pleased to be given the first consideration when the time comes for the sinking of wells in the Bechuanaland Protectorate under the Colonial Development Fund. Nevertheless the difficulties confronting us are obviated by the good help that we are given by our Administration from time to time, such as the task of exterminating the tsetse from the populated areas now in operation. This is a great sacrifice that will cost a lot of money, especially as this help came at this trying time.

In conclusion I say, may this visit have cool shadows of sleep reviving from the weariness of this war. May victory come with the wings of the angels and may we have rain this year.

" GOD SAVE THE KING."

(Signed). MOREMI III

(Chief of the Batawana).

Y. 701/1/4

No. 24.

DESPATCH

from

HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR BASUTOLAND, THE BECHUANALAND PROTECTORATE, AND SWAZILAND.

(Received 3rd November, 1943.)

Bechuanaland Protectorate.

(No. 341 A.)

MY LORD, Pretoria, 18th October, 1943.

I have the honour to report that I spent 10th October to 17th October making an informal tour of inspection of the Southern Reserves of the Bechuanaland Protectorate, and am much encouraged by what I found there. In all matters of Native policy and administration the Bechuanaland Protectorate is already definitely ahead of the other two High Commission Territories in the application of the modern British Colonial policy of " indirect rule " in Africa. This policy is based upon the legal recognition and active workings of three instruments of progressive native self-government, viz.:—

(1) A Native Authority based upon the indigenous native structure having both administrative and controlled legislative powers and responsibilities.

(2) A series of Native Courts of both first instance and appeal operating not only in civil causes but in the trial and punishment of " non-statutory " offences, including offences against the recognized and duly constituted Native Authority.

(3) Native Treasuries. In many ways the third is the most important and the most educative in training Africans into a sense of " responsible " and not merely representative government. My tour coincided with the annual tour of audit and inspection of the Native Treasuries and their work by our Financial Secretary, Mr. Walters. He was emphatic that with the exception of the Batawana Tribal Treasury in Ngamiland, which still leaves much to be desired, the whole working of the several Tribal Treasuries is steadily improving in efficiency and good management. The Native Treasury officials are good, and the interest of the Finance Committees of each Native Authority is keen and active. The accounts and vouchers are admirably kept. On top of the ordinary normal work of the Native Treasuries there is the collection and administration of the Native War Levy based on a form of Income Tax. This has been an additional and complex burden on the Native Authorities well and successfully borne.

2. But nothing struck me more during my tour than the good relations between the Native Authorities and the European officers, technical as well as administrative in all the centres which I visited. There is clearly a real mutual confidence and understanding. The European officials of the Protectorate, under the popular personal leadership of Colonel Forsyth Thompson, the Resident Commissioner, are working as a happy family, a real " team." All, from the Resident Commissioner and heads of departments downwards, are frequently on tour in real contact with the people and not tied to their offices. They are " approachable " and singularly free from the vices of paper bureaucracy and departmentalizm. The mere existence of the Native Treasuries and the activities of the Native Authorities and Native Courts has taken off the backs of the Administrative Officers much of the grinding routine of Police Court magisterial duty and still more of Treasury agents, and so enabled them to fulfil more adequately their prime functions of political officers rather than magistrates and co-ordinators of the work in their districts of the work of the various technical departments. For example, several notable improvements in the native schools have been due to the personal interest and initiative (welcomed by the Director of Education) of individual administrative officers. More than one official volunteered to me his happiness in belonging to such a good " firm." There is a keen progressive spirit clearly observable. Colonel Forsyth Thompson loves the country, its people and is tackling its many baffling problems. This attitude percolates throughout all our services, old and young. They are rightly proud of the Bechuanaland Protectorate.

3. But the economic and financial problems of the country are as serious as they are difficult. Such few small mineral resources as there are, bring little or no revenue to the Government. The vast territory, more than twice the size of the United Kingdom, is for the most part poor, arid, hot, and unproductive. The total population is little if at all over one per square mile, and the great majority of the population, European as well as native, eke out a subsistence in poverty, with inadequate

nutrition or desirable social services. The great sandy Kalahari desert occupies all too much of the whole territory. Rainfall is habitually exiguous and capricious. Conservation of such water as is available presents great technical difficulties. Food production (arable cultivation) is everywhere a difficulty owing to the scarcity of suitable soils for the purpose.

4. The Protectorate revenue is small and consequently the staff is small. But their task is rendered all the harder by the vast distances and inherent difficulties of communication, and these are increased by the fact that Administrative Headquarters are in Mafeking, in the Cape Province, outside the Bechuanaland Protectorate. The following are the approximate distances from Mafeking of the principal centres of importance in the Eastern fringe of the Protectorate, and these should be borne in mind in considering the complexities of our administration:—

Mafeking to Lobatsi	50 miles.
Mafeking to Gaberones	100 miles.
Mafeking to Mahalapye	250 miles.
Mafeking to Palapye Road (station for Serowe) ...	300 miles.
Mafeking to Francistown	400 miles.
Mafeking to Bulawayo	500 miles.

The High Court of the Territory, Gaol and Police Headquarters are at Lobatsi.

The Public Works Department shops, central stores and administration are at Gaberones.

The Headquarters of the Agricultural Department, Experimental Farm, etc., are at Mahalapye.

The only three Government Hospitals which provide beds for Europeans and Natives are at Lobatsi, Serowe and Francistown.

The other inhabited part of the Protectorate—viz., Ngamiland, with its dependencies of Ghansi and Kasani (on the Zambesi) is centred on Maun which is 350 miles by desert road from both Francistown and the Victoria Falls Railway Stations.

5. These facts and figures should always be borne in mind in considering the administrative problems of the Bechuanaland Protectorate.

6. However, as against this wide dispersion it must be remembered that the Bechuana natives have from time immemorial tended to become concentrated in their Tribal Capitals which, unlike other Bantu tribes, have formed large native towns rather than numerous dispersed villages as in Basutoland.

7. On this occasion I visited four of the Southern Tribal Capitals—

(1) Kanye, the Capital of the Bangwaketsi, with 15,000 population, approximately half the total population of the whole tribe.

(2) Molepolole, the Capital of the Bakwena, also with 15,000 inhabitants, equivalent to half the tribe.

(3) Mochudi, with 10,000 inhabitants, *i.e.*, about two-thirds of the whole population of the Bakgatla.

(4) Ramoutsa, with 5,000 inhabitants, nearly half the population of the Bamalete. Serowe, the Capital of the Bamangwato, the largest of all the Bechuana tribes, contains over 30,000 native inhabitants and is the largest African town south of the Equator—roughly one-third of the whole tribe which is otherwise widely scattered. The reasons for this concentration are (1) water supply, (2) defence, dating back to the inter-tribal and other wars before the imposition of the Pax Britannica.

8. But it would be a mistake to infer that the large populations of the Tribal Capitals are stationary. Every spring, considerable numbers of the almost urbanized tribesfolk migrate to the ploughing lands until harvest, while in the winter the elder boys and those young men who do not go out to labour in the mines and industries in the Union, go to " cattle posts " to guard the cattle in the drear winter months against the depredations of lion and death from thirst in the long dry season. Undoubtedly the creation and development of successful Native Authorities has been facilitated in the Bechuanaland Protectorate by the historic traditions of concentration in the Tribal Capitals, but the problem of effective education has been complicated—especially in the case of boys—by the temporary migrations outward from the Capitals to the few arable areas and the winter cattle posts near the few widely scattered perennial water holes.

9. Apropos of the depredations by lion and other carnivora I may have again to apply to the Union for more ammunition to attempt some better control. Only recently a pride of six lions killed fourteen natives, mostly women and children, west of Molepolole. The Government provided a European trader, who is a good game shot, with ammunition, and he succeeded in killing three of these man-eaters and driving the others back on to the Kalahari. In peace-time there are many " hunting " expeditions for people from the Union or overseas into the game areas, but during the war these have ceased and the depredations of lion have become increasingly serious.

10. Certain basic economic facts must now be set out. In Basutoland there is one head of cattle to every two head of human population. In the Bechuanaland Protectorate the figures are reversed, viz., three head of cattle to every one human being. The Bechuanaland Protectorate is dependent for its exiguous wealth on the export to the Union or the Copperbelt of Northern Rhodesia of its surplus cattle or human labour, and in turn is absolutely dependent on the Union for the import of maize and other human foods which it is at present quite incapable of producing for itself. Maize is the habitual staple food of the population of the Bechuanaland Protectorate and the minimum requirement to feed the 280,000 natives is about 60,000 bags of maize. Great efforts have been made by the Administration to produce maize locally, but the average local production, for climatic and soil reasons, is only about 5,000 bags, and the bulk of this " staff of human life " has always been imported from the Union.

11. I have already stated that the main export of the Bechuanaland Protectorate is slaughter cattle. The institution of " cattle guards " has now given us, in addition to valuable veterinary control, a reasonably accurate animal census of the cattle population which during the past year has been enumerated at 820,000. During the past year, 36,000 have been exported to the Johannesburg market, and 12,000 (almost entirely from Ngamiland) to the Northern Rhodesia Copperbelt via the Zambesi and rail from Livingstone. A reasonable estimate of the number of cattle destroyed annually by lion and leopard is 5,000. Some 50,000 cattle hides are exported annually, and of these about 5,000 are slaughtered for local meat consumption, the remainder representing deaths from "poverty," *i.e.*, malnutrition, disease or old age. Mortality from " poverty " is still serious among cattle between two and three years old. Happily the Territory is free from some of the more dangerous infective diseases, such as east coast fever, foot-and-mouth, and rinderpest. Anthrax is now effectively controlled by annual compulsory and free inoculation. This is effectively enforced by tribal law by the Native Authorities acting under our Veterinary officers. The two diseases that require watching are " quarter evil " and " contagious abortion." Inoculation is now being undertaken in respect of both, but it is expensive and not yet universal or complete.

12. The success of the cattle industry in the Bechuanaland Protectorate depends on and will continue to depend on (1) adequate clean water supplies in the long months of absolute drought. (2) Browsing rather than grazing. In the Bechuanaland Protectorate the grass is—except in Ngamiland—poor, but there are many varieties of valuable indigenous bush trees and shrubs which maintain cattle in reasonable condition even when there is little or no grass.

13. As elsewhere in the dry lands of Southern Africa, cattle suffer from a shortage of calcium phosphate and thereby develop a craving for carrion, bones, reptiles and, most dangerous of all, tortoiseshell (there are plenty of wild tortoises in the Bechuanaland Protectorate). Even small doses of bone meal will counteract this " pica." The strictly " veterinary " problems of the Bechuanaland Protectorate are soluble and well in hand, but much remains to be done to improve water supplies not only in quantity but in quality, and to improve and extend " fodder crops." The cattle problems have now become problems of engineering and arable agriculture.

14. With its very small rainfall, consisting mainly of a few heavy thunderstorms with long intervals of hot sunshine, the first problem of the Bechuanaland Protectorate for both man and beast is water. Already this season much of the South-Eastern Protectorate has had rain. In Lobatsi—always the highest rainfall—in the month of September, 3·7 inches were recorded, all within one twenty-four hours. Mahalapye, the headquarters of the Agricultural Department, had, for the Bechuanaland Protectorate, a good rainfall last season, namely between seventeen and eighteen inches falling entirely on twelve days out of the three hundred and sixty-five! An undue proportion of this water rushes torrentially down into the Limpopo river and all too little remains conserved in the Protectorate. Boreholes are best for cattle as water from underground wells is best for men and cattle owing to organic contamination of surface water, while, dams and especially large irrigation dams are the one hope of better and more extensive arable agriculture. Basin cultivation of short rooted, quick maturing crops is a possibility. In the extreme North along the Chobe and Zambezi Rivers with their low altitude and tropical climate, rice cultivation holds out considerable promise, and there the problem is one of transport.

15. One of the principal objects of my tour this time was the inspection—and at Kanye the formal opening—of our two first perennial irrigation dams, the initial costs of which have been met by a loan from Government revenue repayable by the Bangwaketsi Native Treasury.

16. My opening of the Bathoen II Dam at Kanye was attended by some thousands of natives. The dam was expensive and the catchment area—some twelve square miles—comparatively small. The present irrigable area is also small—not much more than fifty-two acres of good vlei with ancient alluvial soil. This winter's has been the first crop, mostly wheat and vegetables. But henceforward, winter and summer, summer and winter, it will be possible to get two crops annually harvested off these acres. It has the advantage of being close to the populous centre of the tribal capital. The enterprise is a tribal one, the annual costs and annual profits being accounted for by and chargeable to the Native Treasury. There is plenty of labour and kraal manure available locally. The first wheat should turn out about seven bags per acre, i.e., about £300 worth of wheat, to be followed in a few weeks' time by a quick maize crop, to be followed next autumn and winter by leguminous crops, and then more grain crops. From every point of view the secret of success depends on (1) effective native co-operation; (2) concrete piping and canalization so as to waste no water and to distribute the water evenly over the irrigable area; (3) exact maintenance of terraced levels; (4) skilful rotational cropping. Expert engineering and agronomical control will be necessary for some years before the area " settles down." We have been singularly fortunate in having on this new project Mr. Robertson, a young refugee engineer from British Malaya, and Mr. Venter who is a South African agriculturist familiar with the most recent irrigation work of the Union Government on the Vaal Hartz development.

17. This Kanye scheme is small in scale but provides a useful indication of the extensive requirements in equipment of any such project over and above the main dam. Below the dam, it has been necessary to construct 820 feet of pipe-line, 6,640 feet of brick or cement main channels and 8,215 feet of concrete-lined distributaries.

18. The other dam—the Mogabane—in the Bamalete Reserve presents quite different problems. It holds up much more water from a much larger catchment area and the dam was cheaper and easier to construct. But it is far from the Chief's capital in a thinly populated area, and the irrigable area below the dam, though much more extensive, presents far more difficult problems from the point of view of the distributive system that will have to be installed, as well as striking contrasts of soil and configuration in a long and comparatively narrow area. The dam is complete and has a fine lake of water in existence above it, but it will probably take five years to develop satisfactorily even the first three hundred acres of permanently irrigated land below the dam, so complex are the many technical factors involved. One thing is already clear—any attempt to irrigate from non-concrete

pipes and canals will involve the loss of at least 30 per cent. of the water as well as the upsetting of the proper rationing of water to the various narrow curving terraces of the cropping areas. Further, only the use of heavy tractors will, with extra deep ploughing, enable much of the exceptional heavy virgin soil to be brought into effective use. Eventually these lands must be taken over and cultivated by the natives to whom they belong, but it will be necessary to teach them entirely new techniques and this cannot be done in one or even a few years. They see water in spectacular quantities, and crops growing in winter in a country where none have ever grown in winter before. To them it is a welcome miracle, but it is as baffling as an aeroplane, and a revolution in their customary ideas of agriculture, of land tenure and traditional " custom."

19. These two launched projects, the first of their kind in the history of the Protectorate, are comparatively small. I inspected the site and possibilities of a much larger project which, owing to its geographical position, will require the co-operation of the Union Government if it is to be achieved.

20. Just below the confluence of the River Taung and the River Notwani there is a rocky gorge between two high kopjes, one in the Bechuanaland Protectorate and one in the Union. A dam across this gorge would create a permanent lake several square miles in extent, of which about three-quarters would be in the Bamalete Reserve and one-quarter in Union Native Trust land. This lake, if created, could place under permanent irrigation a number of European farms in the " Gaberones Block," the whole of the Batlokwa Reserve, and much of the Bakgatla Reserve up to and including the rich plain below their capital at Mochudi. The actual dam would not be unduly costly, but the pipe and canal-borne distributive system for fifty miles below it would involve large capital expenditure and the effective control of many thousands of acres at present producing little or nothing in an area of dense native population.

21. It is perhaps fortunate that our first irrigation dam and scheme has been carried out at Kanye where we have one of the best educated, most progressive and influential Chiefs in the whole Protectorate. His influence as Chairman of the Africa Advisory Council extends far beyond his own tribe, the Bangwaketsi. Owing to the " food crisis " of the present time, Chiefs and people are sincerely anxious to co-operate in all these matters and we accordingly have a greater opportunity.

22. Men and animals, and in the former I include even Europeans, undoubtedly suffer from " malnutrition " in the Bechuanaland Protectorate. Dr. Fox, of the Witwatersrand University Research Department, and Dr. Squires are at this moment engaged on a series of scientific experiments and tests with the Kanye schoolchildren on this subject. They are using as parallel " controls " without " treatment " a corresponding block of Bakwena children at Molepolole, the neighbouring tribal capital. I saw enough of some six hundred schoolchildren in the tribal school at the latter place to feel certain that they have selected a " horrid " example. Even to my layman's eye, malnutrition is evident at Molepolole; not only among the Bantu but among the two anomalous communities who inhabit opposite suburbs of Molepolole, a Cape Coloured and a " Poor White " community, each very distinct but happily small in numbers, dating back to the eighties of the last century. If anything, the " poor white " children are the more pathetic. To judge from their faces they are, with some exceptions, almost uneducable and their standard of living lower than that of many of the neighbouring natives. Inbreeding has exacerbated their low economic and social standards.

23. I noticed a great contrast in the appearance of the massed native schoolchildren at Molepolole (Bakwena) and Mochudi (Bakgatla) respectively. The former contained a remarkable variation of type, accounted for no doubt by the fact that until comparatively recently the Bakwena were a small conquering aristocracy with an enslaved or enserfed proletariat of earlier indigenous inhabitants. Many of the children show bushman and even West African types of feature. Scholastically they are more backward than the Bakgatla at Mochudi, who show a remarkable uniformity of type. Though the Bakgatla cannot boast a Khama or a Tshekedi, as can the Bamangwato, there is among the Bakgatla a higher general level of ability both among the extensive ruling family (Pilani) and the common people than among any other Bechuana tribe, and though a smaller tribe than the Bakwena the number of pupils reaching Standards V and VI and going on to Tiger Kloof and elsewhere for higher education vastly exceeds that of the Bakwena who have identical opportunity. There is neither individual nor collective " equality " among Africans any more than among Europeans.

24. The Bechuanaland Protectorate is still far behind the Basuto of Basutoland in matters educational. In the Bechuanaland Proteorate there are at present about 15,000 natives of all ages obtaining some education. We should aim at at least 25,000 pupils in schools, and we should provide in the Protectorate some modicum of higher or at least " middle " education, of which there is none at present.

25. In this connexion it must be borne in mind that at present the percentage of children of school age in the Bechuanaland Protectorate receiving any education, though higher than Swaziland, is lower than in the Union of South Africa, which in turn is considerably lower than British Basutoland. In the Bechuanaland Protectorate shortage of teachers, shortage of buildings and equipment are all very evident and the " demand " for educational facilities now greatly exceeds the " supply." At present we have to recruit our native teachers from the Union, though a few are natives who have gone from the Protectorate to institutions in the Union for the purpose of obtaining the necessary certificates. Most of the latter go to Tiger Kloof, but the Bechuanaland Protectorate Chiefs are now rather critical of this and other " missionary " institutions and would prefer that Government should undertake both the training of teachers in the Protectorate and the adaptation of the curriculum to the life, environment, traditions and needs of the natives of the Protectorate as we have done in Basutoland.

26. I picked up many interesting sidelights in the course of my tour. In the Bechuanaland Protectorate there are, as I have stated, three excellent Government general hospitals. In addition to these there are subsidized mission hospitals of the American Seventh Day Adventists at Kanye

and Maun, of the German Protestant Mission at Ramoutsa, the Roman Catholics (Dominican Nuns) near Gaberones, of the Dutch Reformed Church at Mochudi, and of the Church of Scotland at Molepolole. The Church of England is conspicuous by its absence. The Livingstone Hospital at Molepolole has for many years been in charge of a Dr. Shepherd, the brother of the present Principal of Lovedale in the Ciskei. Dr. Shepherd introduced me to some keen and excellent native nurses and probationers whom he was training. I asked them where they came from. Most of them were from Kanye—not one was from the local Bakwena Reserve. The reason I was given for this was that there is still a social caste in Molepolole between the true Bakwena and the " Masarwa " or " conquered " peoples, and that no Bakwena would nurse or be nursed by a Masarwa! The old order dies hard in Africa, not merely between black and white, but between black and black.

27. Dr. Shepherd is doing wonderful work in his " Livingstone " hospital. It is always crowded with in-patients and he has to deal with some 29,000 out-patients per annum. There is now a universal demand for more European medicine and medical services throughout the Bechuanaland Protectorate, and at present we are meeting and can only meet a fraction of this demand. It is clearer to me than ever that as elsewhere in the High Commission Territories we need treatment clinics—satellites of our hospitals at the main centres, staffed by trained African assistants working under a qualified medical practitioner on the lines so admirably and extensively developed by Sir Godfrey Huggins in Southern Rhodesia.

28. Diseases vary greatly in their incidence. For example, fly-borne ophthalmias and other eye diseases are a special problem in the Bakwena Reserve, and this trouble is almost absent in the adjoining Bangwaketsi Reserve. But the problem of obtaining and training the necessary number of native medical aids is everywhere complicated by the small numbers attaining Standard VII or Junior Certificate in any of our High Commission Territories schools outside Basutoland. The supply of school teachers, medical aids, craftsmen for the Public Works Department, for the Agricultural and Veterinary Departments depends in fact on the number of Africans we can get beyond Standard VI, and to-day the numbers that reach this standard are lamentably few.

29. But here let me insert a word of warning. We must be clear in our minds that whether by further Government expenditure, either inside the Territories or with bursaries to institutions in the Union, we produce a new class or caste of " intelligentsia " who regard the education they have received at the public expense as an " avenue " of escape or personal profit, rather than as a preparation for social and communal service to the community that has financed them and as in duty bound for the privilege of education higher than that given to most of their fellow tribesmen to give their lives and careers in the public service of their own people. The former alternative is no doubt justified on the strict principles of individualism and the latter on the principles of socialism. In the present circumstances in Native Africa I unhesitatingly opt for the latter.

30. At Gaberones I held an informal indaba of all the Chiefs and Regents of the Protectorate and their principal assistants, except the Batawana from distant Ngamiland. Chief Tshekedi came from Serowe and, as usual, made a most able and thoughtful impromptu speech of some length. There is no doubt that he is the most gifted personality among the Bechuana to-day and one of the most gifted Africans now living. He expressed great satisfaction at the amended Native Authorities and Native Court Proclamations which I have recently signed and promulgated. He is as keen as ever on all aspects of the war effort and everything concerning the welfare and future of the African Auxiliary Pioneer Corps now up North and proud that Bechuana have joined the Basuto in Europe. He is actively engaged in an intensive food production campaign and much interested in all new projects for further agricultural development.

31. I am clear that in the past, visits of High Commissioners have been of too formal a character with carefully prepared formal speeches vetted and read out on both sides. Extemporary informal speeches and free and frank discussions are worth far more than this kind of formal and now rather meaningless ceremonial.

32. I must now say something about the Europeans of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. Officials, traders, missionaries, farmers and their families number about 2,000 souls. Their war effort has been exemplary. They have now collected nearly £30,000 for various war funds—notably the Red Cross. Two hundred are serving in the Army or Air Forces—Imperial, South African or Southern Rhodesian. The European farmers are in six blocks. (1) The Tati Company's Concession area round Francistown. (2) The Tuli block. (3) The Gaberones block. (4) The Lobatsi block. (5) The Baralong farms (near the Mafeking border). (6) The Ghansi settlement in South-Western Ngamiland. Number 1 preceded the activities of Cecil Rhodes in the 1880's and preceded the first establishment of the British Protectorate in 1886. Its affiliations, sentiments and interests are with Southern Rhodesia.

33. All the other settlements are due to Mr. Rhodes. The Tuli block, however, may be said to have been due to the desire of Chief Khama to leave a block under Rhodes's control as a buffer designed to avoid conflicts between the Bamangwato and the Transvaal Boers over such inevitable matters as cattle raids and stock thefts which were the habitual order of the day in those early times. It consists of a strip 200 miles long and of a width varying from fifteen to twenty miles along the left bank of the Limpopo River. All Rhodes's interests passed to the British South Africa Company. Recently this Company has been selling off its alienated land in the Tuli block to Afrikander farmers from the Northern Transvaal. I am told that these newcomers to the Bechuanaland Protectorate have got the land very cheaply and have already paid for the cost of the land by the mass slaughter of the game—especially kudu and hartebeest—that abound in the valley of the Limpopo, and the sale of the biltong in Johannesburg. In the circumstances now obtaining with shortage of police staff it is virtually impossible to enforce the laws in respect of the preservation of game or any of the normally protected species.

34. I asked the Chief Veterinary Officer what he considers is the maximum cattle-carrying capacity of land in the European blocks in the Eastern, i.e., best watered areas of the Protectorate. He replied that in the South, approximately ten morgen, i.e., about twenty-two acres, was required

to maintain each single head of cattle in reasonable condition, and that in the North-East the area required runs up to double this amount. Any greater concentration of cattle would be " overstocking." In good grazing land in England a beast to every acre is not excessive, and the above figures must be borne in mind by anyone considering the economic possiblities of the Bechuanaland Protectorate.

35. I met a number of European farmers at Lobatsi and Gaberones. They all admit that they are having a " wave " of prosperity from the cattle trade with the Union, and have never obtained such prices before in history. Most of these farmers are both ranchers and cattle dealers, and often store-keepers as well.

36. This despatch is already somewhat lengthy and I reserve for another communication my personal and confidential impressions of some of our officers, and the staff problems of the Protectorate.

I have, &c.,

HARLECH.

High Commissioner.

Y. 701/1/7.

No. 25.

DESPATCH

from

HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR BASUTOLAND, THE BECHUANALAND PROTECTORATE, AND SWAZILAND.

(Received 15th June, 1944.)

Bechuanaland Protectorate.

(No. 229, Secret.)

My Lord, Pretoria, 5th June, 1944.

I have the honour to report that I paid a brief farewell visit to the Bechuanaland Protectorate from 27th to 29th May. The Chiefs, Regents and their principal followers assembled at Lobatsi to meet me. Representatives of all seven of the tribal reserves spoke. (I had already said goodbye to Chief Moremi of the Batawana at Maun a fortnight earlier on my way to South West Africa.) Speakers all expressed their sorrow at my departure and emphasized the progress that has been made in the last three years. They specially emphasized their loyalty to the Crown and to the Protectorate Government, and their pride that Bechuana Africans are now fighting in Italy. While nothing was said openly it was very clear to me that renewed references in the Union Press to the possibility of transfer to the Union is causing them anxiety and even depression. They are, of course, also aware of the petition which some of the European farmers have sought to present to General Smuts in favour of early transfer to the Union of the European owned areas of the Protectorate. That all the African Chiefs and leaders in the Bechuanaland Protectorate, except possibly some of the Baralong in the Mafeking area and neighbourhood, are as vehemently opposed as ever to transfer from the United Kingdom to the Union, I have little doubt.

2. Later the same day I received a farewell deputation from the Indian Trading community. Their numbers are not large. They consisted entirely of Mohammedans and their sole interest is shopkeeping. They are a well-behaved little community and most of their trade is with the Native.

3. I then attended a large function given by the European unofficial community attended among others by several of the members of the European Advisory Council. The Chairman of this body, Mr. Glover, read a long formal address which contained references to the recent petition. He explained that the present veterinary restrictions on all exports of cattle to the Union is hitting the European farmers hard and that their desire for the transfer of the European-owned areas to the Union is solely on economic grounds and on what they hold is their own inevitable economic interest. Mr. Glover stressed his sincere loyalty to the Crown and the British connexion.

4. I made *ex tempore* replies to all these speeches. I reaffirmed and explained the declared procedure should the question of the transfer of any of the High Commission Territories or any part of them be raised again by the Union Government after the war. That neither the European traders nor missionaries share the views of the European farmers on the question of transfer I have little doubt. I pointed out to the European farmers that even if their holdings in the Territory were transferred to the Union I doubted very much whether they would be freed thereby from veterinary restrictions on the export or movement of their cattle in the event of any outbreak of infectious diseases in the neighbouring native reserves. I emphasized that new boundaries for the Protectorate might prove a difficult matter geographically and administratively, and that the Act of Union of 1910 contemplated the continuance of the Protectorate as a separate unit of administration similar to that now existing, but under the Union instead of under the United Kingdom and the High Commissioner. But I pointed out that since the formulation of the Act of 1910, two important things had happened, namely that South West Africa, with which the Ghansi and European areas west and south-west of Ngamiland are economically connected and now so closely associated, had ceased to be foreign territory, and that since 1923, Southern Rhodesia, interested in the Tati European area so close to Bulawayo, had become a self-governing Colony, while more recently the economic interests of European cattle owners and traders in Ngamiland and the northern part of the Protectorate had developed almost entirely in the direction of the Rhodesias, and Northern Rhodesia in particular, rather than with the Union or the rest of the Protectorate. Though this was dangerous ground to embark upon in a public speech I felt it necessary that I should not appear to run away from the issues raised by the recent petition and Mr. Glover's address to me.

5. I should here note that it is estimated that 95 per cent. of the cattle owned and exported by European farmers in the Protectorate is native bred stock which they buy from natives in the reserves, improve on their ranches and then sell to the Johannesburg or Rhodesian markets, while the European dairy industry in the north-west of the Protectorate finds its only practicable market in the butter factory at Gobabis in South West Africa. Both these markets are now closed by the Union authorities.

6. The following morning I had a general discussion with the Resident Commissioner and Heads of all departments in Mafeking, which I will not detail. But as this will be my last despatch on the affairs of the Protectorate, I submit some observations on matters of current interest and of future general concern.

7. The administration of so vast, so poor and so sparsely populated a territory—more than twice the size of Great Britain—presents very special problems, particularly as it still has to be effected from Headquarters actually outside the Territory and in the Union.

8. The total internal revenue of the Protectorate—and last year's revenue constitutes a record collection—is in broad figures equivalent both to £1 per square mile and £1 per head of the total population of all races—a low standard in comparison with many of our Colonial dependencies. The distances are so vast, and the existing means of communication so slow and so expensive that the mere cost of travelling to both Government and to individuals entails a quite unusual proportion of necessary expenditure. It is also a strain on the personnel of the small staff and on the time of all our officials. This year the problem of communications has been particularly difficult, as owing to the unprecedentedly high rainfall the northern part of the Protectorate was completely marooned for over two months and even in the southern parts traffic, other than traffic on the few main roads, was held up for long periods. If, after the war, internal civil aviation can be developed, the problem of contact between Heads of departments and their district representatives—now so difficult—may be alleviated.

9. For example, the High Court sits at Lobatsi, fifty miles north of Mafeking. If, say, a murder is committed in Ngamiland, the prisoner, prosecutors and witnesses have to trek 350 or more miles overland by rough road to Francistown, and thence 350 more by train to Lobatsi, and the same back home. The primary difficulty in administering the Bechuanaland Protectorate is accordingly its sheer bulk.

10. The very heavy rains this year have inevitably resulted in a steep rise in the incidence of malaria among both European officials and natives. However, frost has come early and sharp frosts have been experienced thoughout the Protectorate including the tropical north as early as 11th and 13th May. So the malaria season should now pass.

11. The untoward episode seriously affecting the whole economy of the Protectorate was the discovery among native cattle just south of Lake Ngami of foot and mouth disease on 5th January. The Union immediately stopped the movement of any animals or animal products from the whole Protectorate either to the Union or to South West Africa. Cordons to prevent movement from the area that might be affected were—in spite of the heavy rains—fully established by the Bechuanaland Protectorate police by the end of January, and some 90,000 cattle throughout the northern part of the Protectorate have been inoculated by our Veterinary Department.

12. However, at the end of March two further cases of foot-and-mouth disease were discovered in non-inoculated cattle near the Chobe not far from its confluence with the Zambezi. This was clearly a second independent outbreak. No further cases have occurred in Ngamiland or any in the southern part of the Protectorate.

13. The Bechuanaland Protectorate has been described as "a vast area of desert and bush entirely surrounded by veterinary restrictions". Certainly the control of cattle diseases is a major difficulty for all.

14. The Government of Northern Rhodesia have raised their embargo and 2,000 head of slaughter stock from the inoculated area have now passed through Livingstone *en route* for the abattoirs on the Copperbelt and in no case have any of these cattle developed the disease.

15. The ultimate origin of both the recent outbreaks of foot-and-mouth disease in a territory that has now for many years been free from it is, I understand, traceable to Angola, but whether borne by cattle crossing the Caprivi Strip or by game—and this year there have been large migrations of game in those parts of Central Africa—will probably never be known. Foot-and-mouth disease is little regarded by the Portuguese authorities in Angola.

16. Speaking personally, I am not entirely sorry that there has been a temporary cessation of cattle exports. In the last two years up to the time of this outbreak of foot-and-mouth disease, about 85,000 cattle have been exported—mainly to Johannesburg—for slaughter, i.e., about 10 per cent. of the total cattle population. I was informed that the number of mature oxen, indeed the number of oxen remaining fit to plough, left in the country is seriously deficient. Taking the long view, a regular export of about 30,000 head of cattle a year would be preferable to such a special boom as we had been experiencing owing to the high prices offered in Union markets.

17. The response of the Bechuana Chiefs and tribesmen to my appeal last spring for a special food production drive has been most commendable—particularly in the stumping and communal ploughing of fresh tribal lands. A larger area of land was ploughed for crops than probably for any year in the Protectorate's history. The bulk of this was rightly kaffir corn, as maize is rarely a practicable crop in the Bechuanaland Protectorate. The heavy continuous rain throughout February was excessive. It delayed the maturing of the crop and encouraged the rapid spread of both aphis and rust. Since the end of February no rain has fallen. The most successful crop, however, has been cow peas and over 20,000 bags are available for export to the Union. Maize for human consumption

will be short and the natives will have to eat kaffir corn in lieu of mealies. Our Food Controller has, however, arranged with the Union not to ask them for any maize this year as he has obtained a promise of 25,000 bags from Southern Rhodesia which should bridge the gap between the Protectorate's needs and self-sufficiency in this particular season.

18. The development of the pig industry is proceeding slowly and last year some 5,000 baconers were exported to the Union.

19. The revenue of the Protectorate for the year ending 31st March this year turned out a record at £350,000. The expenditure (apart from Colonial Development Fund grants or loans) was £290,000, thus enabling a further £60,000 to be added to our surplus balances. The collection of native direct tax at £76,000 was a record. But to balance its little budget the Protectorate is all too dependent on the income tax receivable from the Rhodesia Railway Company—last year approximately £94,000. In fact the financial stability of the Bechuanaland Protectorate is now mainly dependent on this Railway revenue and if, after the years of war prosperity of this Company there is a marked decrease in receipts, or if the proposed nationalization of the Railway results in lower contributions to general revenue payable to the several Administrations which Rhodesia Railways serve, the balancing of the Bechuanaland Protectorate budget will again become a very serious difficulty. That money is urgently needed for housing of officials—especially African officials—for schools and teachers, for a much needed expansion of the Public Health services, preventive as well as curative, is very obvious to me. At the moment the estimated excess of assets over liabilities at 31st March, 1944, is £160,000.

20. It is obvious, too, that in a territory at present all too dependent on a single industry, namely the cattle industry, every opportunity should be taken to redress the balance in favour of crop production, including the provision of better feed for cattle, and especially dairy cattle, during the long months of drought. In the Bechuanaland Protectorate this can only be done by irrigation. In my despatch of last October*, I outlined the Notwani irrigation project. During the last six months a lot of work has been put in on it by Mr. Wayland, the geologist, Mr. Robertson, the very able engineer from Malaya, and the heads of departments. They are satisfied that the Notwani scheme is the only practicable large scale scheme offering in the southern half of the Protectorate. It is, moreover, near the railway and near the larger centres of population.

21. The Notwani and its tributaries coming down from the Transvaal (Zeerust) as well as from the west in the Bechuanaland Protectorate has a large catchment area. Between Gaberones and Lobatsi there are high hills, precipitous and rocky, and these hills tend to cause the precipitation of summer thunderstorms. The local rainfall is frequently cataclysmic, several inches falling in minutes rather than in hours. This last February the Notwani floods inundated a great part of the plain opposite Mochudi in the Bakgatla Reserve.

22. It so happens that the Notwani passes through a steep narrow rocky gorge where it emerges from the Bamalete Reserve into the Gaberones block, and a concrete dam at least fifty feet high could be built forming a large lake some square miles in extent immediately above it. The estimated cost of the dam alone—to be safe against sudden high floods—would be about £175,000. But this is not a high cost judged by the number of acre feet of water that it would conserve, when compared with that of other large dams in the Union. There is little doubt that we could there conserve for perennial irrigation of the valley below a very large assured and perennial supply of water. But in other countries all too many such irrigation projects have been less successful than they could have been by spending a lot of capital on the dam and then being cheeseparing on the consequential cost of the distributive system below the dam. Owing to the configuration of the land, water from the Notwani dam in its earlier mileage could only irrigate a few European farms in the Gaberones block, the greater part of the small Batlokwa Reserve, and its major value would only be obtained if the Bakgatla plain, nearly fifty miles below the dam, could be placed under perennial irrigation.

23. Fairly elaborate surveys are now available for the land round the proposed dam and for the first twenty odd miles below it, but further surveys lower down and the co-operation of an agronomist are needed before final conclusions can be reached. The whole project in its entirety would have to be financed by loan. If it is to be entertained it occurs to me that it would be very desirable for the Government to acquire one of the European farms on the course of the system as a research and demonstration farm as a model of how to cultivate and rotate cropping in the kind of soil in the neighbourhood and in the local climatic conditions—to be in fact a scientific control station. That this major scheme could make a very considerable increase in the total national income of the Protectorate I have little doubt, but in view of the past experience of the Union it is not an undertaking to be embarked upon lightly or without all the many factors being taken into account. The Bakgatla tribe happens to be one of the most progressive and densely populated in the whole Protectorate, but the Batlokwa tribe is small and rather backward. Some of the best valley land belonging to the Bamalete tribe would be submerged by the lake above the dam, and they stand to lose this and gain practically nothing. The problem of compensation is not an easy one. The eastern end of the proposed dam is not in the Bechuanaland Protectorate but abuts on a barren mountain side in the Transvaal, the land belonging to the Union's Native Trust, and Union agreement with the project would have to be obtained, though it is difficult to see how they could benefit as both banks of the Notwani below the dam site are in the Bechuanaland Protectorate.

24. The project also raises the question as to whether the Bechuanaland Protectorate can raise the necessarily considerable loan like a British Colony.

25. Further investigation will proceed, but some indication of the views of the Dominions Office on such a major project are now desirable, especially as to the means of financing it if it is to become practical politics.

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* No. 24.

26. The Resident Commissioner and heads of departments are proceeding shortly to the Chobe area to investigate the economic possibilities of this extreme northern area west of the Victoria Falls. This region, so far neglected, presents of course quite different ecological conditions to those obtaining in the southern half of the Protectorate.

27. I doubt very much whether there is any appreciable mineral wealth anywhere in the Protectorate. The area of further settlement by any race is strictly limited by the small proportion of the whole vast area where water supplies are obtainable during the long months of customary absolute drought from March to October.

28. Of course, the harnessing of the Great Okavango swamps and/or the development of the Chobe valley about which I have written in previous despatches* would make a fundamental difference. But both would require large capital expenditure.

29. But taking things as they are I am myself forced to the conclusion that the present area of the Protectorate is too big for the resources of its existing administration and its visible financial income.

30. The Tati Concession, in particular, owned by the Tati Company, so far from being an asset to the Protectorate is a drain on its revenues—i.e., its contribution to revenue is exceeded by the necessary expenditure in that area—an area whose inhabitants have long aspired to being incorporated in Southern Rhodesia. Historically, of course, the Tati area was never Bechuana, but was granted in freehold title to Mr. Francis by Lobengula when independent Ruler of Matabeleland before the establishment of either the Bechuanaland Protectorate in 1886, or the foundation of Rhodesia in 1890.

31. Mr. Rhodes opened and settled European farmers in the Ghansi district west of the Batawana Reserve, avowedly to anticipate the spread of German claims and settlement from Gobabis. These farmers—practically all Afrikaners—and the local natives are more akin in every way to South West Africa.

32. Probably the richest potential agricultural area of the Bechuanaland Protectorate is the Chobe—Zambezi basin in the extreme north. Most of this is Crown land, bounded on the south-west by the Batawana Reserve and on the south at the Great Makarikari Pan with the Bamangwato Reserve (Khama's country, now under Chief Tshekedi). If a branch railway could be constructed from Wanki even for 150 miles south-westwards in the Maun direction the agricultural and timber resources of this area could be developed. But this would appear to me to be a job for the neighbouring Rhodesias. But I would strongly oppose the claim of Southern Rhodesia to incorporate any portion of the Bamangwato Reserve.

33. On the south there is the present division of the Barolong tribes and the problems connected with the Barolong farms, the Molopo River, etc., regarding which there is much correspondence in the files of the Dominions Office. The fundamental fact is that the Chief of the Barolong on our side of the existing border is primarily a Union Chief residing in Mafeking and administering more numerous followers in the Union than there are in the Protectorate.

34. Our essential interest in the Bechuanaland Protectorate and our main responsibility as a Government is with the six continuous tribal reserves from the Bangwaketse Reserve (capital Kanye) on the south to the Bamangwato (capital Serowe) in the north. This area contains more than three-quarters of the total population, is the area where tribal self-government under our system of indirect rule has become most developed in all the High Commission Territories, and where I am quite clear in my own mind that the tribes wish to remain, for some considerable time at any rate, administered by us and not forced against their undoubted wishes into the Union. This is the core of the Protectorate on which we should concentrate what energies, staff and money as are available. I am expressing a purely personal view—the result of my own deductions after my brief three years' tenure of office here. Like the Ovambo of Ovamboland, these six separate and distinct Bechuana tribes are still highly tribal—each with their own characteristics and local patriotism, each very self-contained separate units. In executive, judicial and financial matters they are developing responsible self-government in their local affairs with no mean success. I stress the word " responsible ".

35. I am equally clear that we cannot hope to adminster them as effectively as we should from Mafeking or without Administrative control of the Gaberones and Lobatsi blocks in their midst. That our European capital should be—as has been suggested—north of Gaberones in the Bakgatla Reserve I am sure is right, as it will then be in the closest practicable contact with all the tribal administrations.

36. I am aware that my ideas will present many difficulties of a legal and constitutional nature, but politically and economically I have the temerity to believe that they are sound. Neither Basutoland—which is all native reserve and homogeneous, nor Swaziland, with its complex chequerboard of interwined European and native patches, is capable of dismemberment. Indeed the trouble with them is that they are if anything too small and run the danger of introverting, though Basutoland will be saved by the robust individualism of its dense and progressive population of native highlanders. Basutoland is a nation and not a tribe and has an internal social structure very different from that of the Bechuana tribes.

37. The Batawana Reserve in Ngamiland is very different in character from the other tribal reserves. There is indeed a Batawana Chief and a small number of Batawana, but the bulk of the native population in his Reserve are not Batawana but a mixture of tribes and sections of tribes, some of them only very slightly assimilated. Even in the tribal capital at Maun one sees quite a number of very different looking natives notably Herero—wrongly referred to as Damara—descendant refugees from German persecution in South West Africa during the Herero Wars of 1904-1907. Physically and as herdsmen these Herero are obviously superior to the smaller and more backward Batawana and other remnants of Bantu communities, formerly the " slaves " and now the

* No. 23 and Y. 1186/4: not printed.

" servants " of the Batawana, who have, I fancy, deteriorated in the last two generations. Consequently in Ngamiland native society does not present that uniformity or tribal cohesion that one finds in the more highly organized and homogeneous tribes in the South Eastern Reserves. It is, of course, the intention of our policy to prevent " detribalization " and to preserve and utilize tribal discipline and authority.

38. But the Bechuanaland Protectorate is too big, and if the progress and development of economic resources and of social services for the African or anyone else are to be carried out there is a strong case for its dismemberment. Most of the existing boundaries of States and dependencies in Africa bear no relation to geographical, ethnographical or economic factors. They are the result of arbitrary historical incidents during the hurried scramble by European Powers in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. That these quite unscientific divisions should become crystallized for all time seems to me to have no moral justification. Economic as well as ethnographical factors should be borne in mind in any rectification of past mistakes.

39. Of course no decisions should be taken without full consultations with the populations and interests concerned, but in my endeavour to look squarely into the future and to balance major and minor interests as well as present economic trends, I have formed the conclusions which I have outlined above. In considering the future of the Bechuanaland Protectorate we have not only to consider the interests—and wishes—which no doubt are paramount, of its existing inhabitants, but of the Union, of the Rhodesias and of South West Africa. Above all, it must always be borne in mind that we are considering an area more than twice the size of Great Britain. If kaffir corn is the main crop of the southern part of the Protectorate, rice may well prove to be the right main crop of the northernmost region as far distant from Mafeking as London is from Rome.

40. All I am anxious to ensure is that if and when, after the war, the Dominions Office comes to consider its future policy in regard to the largest of the dependencies for whose well-being it is now responsible, these personal views should be taken into consideration in formulating policy in London.

I have, &c.,

HARLECH,

High Commissioner.

(c) Swaziland

Y. 184/19.

No. 26.

DESPATCH

from

HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR BASUTOLAND, THE BECHUANALAND PROTECTORATE AND SWAZILAND.

(Received 27th January, 1942.)

[Answered by No. 27.]

Swaziland.

(No. 463, Confidential.)

My Lord, Pretoria, 18th December, 1941.

I have the honour to transmit herewith, for Your Lordship's directions, a petition* by the Paramount Chief of Swaziland addressed to the King-in-Parliament.

2. Subject to your views I suggest that the reply to the eight points mentioned in the summary in paragraph 60 of the petition might be on the following lines:—

(*a*) that the internal independence of the Swazi Nation is not admitted. The Order in Council of the 25th June, 1903, and subsequent Orders go no further than is clearly necessary, as in other British Protectorates, to vest in the High Commissioner adequate powers for the maintenance of peace and order and provision of good and progressive government.

(*b*) that the rights of the Paramount Chief and other chiefs according to Native Law and Custom are preserved by the proposed legislation for the regulation of Native Administration and Native Courts subject to the proper exercise of such rights where not incompatible with His Majesty's power and jurisdiction or injurious to the welfare of the native population.

* Not printed.

(*c*) that the Harrington concession conveyed the right to the Concessionaire to collect and retain all revenues derivable from taxes, rents, fees and duties in Swaziland subject to the payment to the Paramount Chief of £12,000 per annum if a sum equal to that amount had been collected. This concession was cancelled by the Governor of the Transvaal by Proclamation No. 2 of 1905 in order to provide that the parties liable for payment of rents, royalties and other revenues should pay these to the Swaziland Administration in order that these revenues should form part of the revenue of Swaziland. The Trust Fund constituted by Proclamation No. 9 of 1906 contains the greater portion of the monies collected under that concession during the period 1899 to February, 1905 (£20,000) which was invested and the annual interest is paid to the Paramount Chief. The unfunded balance of the monies was paid to the Paramount Chief. It is considered that the fund is not private property but that it is held on behalf of the Swazi Nation.

(*d*) that the question of the provision of land additional to that in the Native Reserves to meet the needs of the Swazi Nation is affected by a number of important factors. It is understood for instance that the need for additional land could be reduced by the introduction of improved methods of cultivation and the limitation and control of livestock in the existing Reserves. Before considering the provision of special funds for this purpose the Secretary of State would require to be satisfied that the problem had been studied from all aspects, possibly by means of a nutritional survey if it should prove possible in connection with post-war development plans to provide funds and personnel for a comprehensive survey of this nature. Steps have already been taken to introduce certain measures tending to the preservation of the land from denudation and soil erosion, but it must be realized by the petitioner that one of the remedies against these evils is in the hands of the chiefs, i.e., the introduction of better arrangements for the prevention of overstocking and overgrazing which the Agricultural Department and Administration of Swaziland have from time to time suggested to them.

(*e*) that by the impartial determination of officers specially appointed, the lands reserved to the Swazis were separated from the lands to be held by Concessionaires under grants from the former Paramount Chief Umbandine. The arrangement provided amply at the time for Native occupation, and was adopted with the aim of setting right difficulties for which a Native ruler of Swaziland was clearly himself personally responsible. It is not feasible now to upset the terms of any concessions granted in accordance with this settlement.

(*f*) that for the reasons in (*e*) this is impossible.

(*g*) that it is not considered desirable to alter the policy by which the Crown Lands and mineral rights connected therewith vest in the High Commissioner.

(*h*) that it is not proposed to accede to this request.

3. I suggest also the following additional comment:—

"It has been reported to me by the High Commissioner that Native Courts continue with ill defined and irregular powers, and that the decisions of these Courts and fines imposed are not properly recorded. I consider that effective control over the proceedings of Native Courts on lines already in practice in Basutoland and the Bechuanaland Protectorate is long overdue; and that it is now necessary to issue proclamations placing Native Authorities and Native Courts in Swaziland on a proper and more regular constitutional basis. I expect the loyal co-operation of the Paramount Chief and his Council in giving effect to this policy of His Majesty's Government."

4. The attention of the petitioner might also, I suggest, suitably be invited to replies to previous petitions on much the same subjects, i.e. (1) the correspondence and records of interviews ending with No. 30 in Colonial Office print African (South) No. 890 of July, 1909, and (2) the reply to the petition of a deputation of Swazi Chiefs* which was enclosed with the Duke of Devonshire's despatch No. 50 of the 31st January, 1923.

I have, &c.,

HARLECH,

High Commissioner.

Y. 184/19.

No. 27.

DESPATCH

to

HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR BASUTOLAND, THE BECHUANALAND PROTECTORATE AND SWAZILAND.

Swaziland.

(No. 299.)

My Lord, Downing Street, S.W.1, 15th December, 1942.

I have the honour to refer to the Petition dated the 28th November, 1941†, which was addressed to the King in Parliament by the Paramount Chief of Swaziland and the Council of the Swazi Nation.

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* No. 17 in Dominions (S. African) No. 1.

† See No. 26.

2. Since the receipt of this Petition I have been informed that it is desired that it should be treated as one addressed solely to the King. I have accordingly laid the Petition before His Majesty and have now by His Majesty's command to request that the following reply may be conveyed to the Paramount Chief.

3. Various points relating to the past history of Swaziland are raised in the Petition, but the main reason for the submission of the Petition at this moment is the fear which the Paramount Chief entertains as regards certain proposed legislation relating to Native Administration in Swaziland. The Paramount Chief well knows that during recent years the late Resident Commissioner has discussed with him the introduction of legislation to regularize the position of Native authorities and Native Courts in Swaziland. This has been deferred until similar proclamations were issued in Basutoland, so that the knowledge that they were working successfully in Basutoland would remove the Paramount Chief's doubts. The Basutoland Proclamations are designed to define the authority of the Paramount Chief and Chiefs of Native Courts and are based upon legislation of other African territories under His Majesty's Protection. There is no intention of seeking to diminish the authority of the Paramount Chief and Chiefs; on the contrary, it is contemplated that they would, under supervision, have greater responsibilities and more authority than now. The object in view is not only to confirm the position of the Native authorities and to provide for the reorganization of Native Courts, but also to prepare for the establishment of a Native Treasury. Such Native Treasuries have been most successful elsewhere in assisting Native Administrations to take part in development measures and in training natives to fiscal responsibility. No final decision has been taken as to the terms of the proposed legislation. The Resident Commissioner under the authority of His Majesty's High Commissioner will be very ready to discuss its details with the Paramount Chief, and the High Commissioner is anxious that it should be enacted in a form which will take into account the views of the Paramount Chief.

4. The other matters raised in the Petition fall under three heads: (*a*) the constitutional question (*b*) the question of the land settlement and (*c*) the question of the Trust fund.

5. The constitutional position is that Swaziland became a British Protectorate in 1903 by virtue of the passing to the British Crown of the rights formerly exercised by the Government of the South African Republic. The Swazis were at that time very ready to accept the protection of the British Crown, and it is not open to doubt that His Majesty as the protecting power has full power of jurisdiction in the territory. This was made clear in the Judgment of the Judicial Committee of His Majesty's Privy Council of 1926 to which reference is made in the Paramount Chief's Petition. The Order of 1903 by His Majesty in Council, which provides for the administration of Swaziland, directs His Majesty's High Commissioner in issuing Proclamations to respect any native laws by which the civil relations of any native chiefs, tribes or populations under His Majesty's protection, were then regulated "except so far as the same may be incompatible with the due exercise of His Majesty's power and jurisdiction or clearly injurious to the welfare of the said natives." The decision in the Special Court of Bechuanaland Protectorate in 1936 in the action brought by Acting Chief Tshekedi supports the view that there is nothing in the proposed Proclamations relating to native administration in Swaziland which is inconsistent with the provisions of the Order in Council of 1903 under which His Majesty's High Commissioner exercises legislative power in Swaziland. The late Lord Selbourne, when His Majesty's High Commissioner, explained to the Paramount Chief the position resulting from the constitution of a British protectorate over the territory in 1903 when replying to a Petition to the King of the 23rd June, 1906. Lord Selbourne then pointed out that "the King has kept you independent from the rest of the world in the same way as he keeps all his peoples independent; but you are not independent of him. He rules over you."

6. His Majesty wishes to make it clear at this point that he has every confidence in the loyalty of the Swazis to the Crown, which has been demonstrated anew in the present war in the numbers of men in the territory who have volunteered for service in the Middle East.

7. The land question was explained in the reply given in 1923 by the late Duke of Devonshire when Secretary of State, to an earlier petition from the Paramount Chief. As then pointed out, the British Administration were faced after the South African war with the fact that the former Chief, Mbandini, had made a series of concessions, the effect of which was that he had granted away all the land in Swaziland for a period of a hundred years from 1889. His Majesty's Government considered that, if nothing was done to deal with this position, there would be constant quarrels between the white population and the Swazis, and that it was in the interest of the Swazis that definite areas should be set aside for their sole occupation. It was not possible for His Majesty's Government to cancel the concessions which had been granted by Mbandini, since they had been confirmed by a Court established under an earlier Convention between the British and South African Republican Governments. On the other hand, His Majesty's Government wished to provide ample and adequate land for the Swazis who had been dispossessed of it by the concessions granted by the Paramount Chief. His Majesty's Government accordingly appointed a Commissioner to select land for the Swazis with instructions that in doing so he should provide for the reasonable expansion of the tribe. No definite limit was fixed as to the amount of land which he might regard as being at his disposal for carrying out the duties assigned to him. In 1907 certain Swazi Chiefs came on a deputation to this country and were received by the then Secretary of State, Lord Elgin, who informed them that he thought that it would be difficult to find anywhere else an attempt to set right difficulties for which a native ruler was clearly himself responsible on terms more liberal to the natives themselves. The land needed for this settlement was obtained by requiring the Concessionaires to surrender one third of their land in order to form areas for the sole and exclusive occupation of the natives. In return, the remaining two-thirds were freed from occupation rights and converted in certain cases into freehold grants. Certain lands which were at the disposal of the Crown by virtue either of expropriation or the acquisition of the rights of the Government of the South African Republic were also in part used for the formation of native areas.

8. The Agricultural Adviser to His Majesty's High Commissioner has recently reported that maldistribution of population and stock have largely contributed to the present difficulties in the native reserves. His Majesty's Government recognize that additional land may be required in order

to provide for a better distribution of the population and in particular to meet the needs of native squatters on European-owned land. They will be prepared to consider sympathetically any proposals which His Majesty's High Commissioner may put forward for the provision of funds for development, whether for the purpose of providing additional land for the natives or for any other development or welfare schemes. But the existing reserves could clearly provide for a larger native population by the introduction of improved methods of cultivation, and His Majesty's Government consider that the introduction of such methods should go with the provision of additional land. The proposed native authority proclamation will provide the means for carrying out these measures and must precede such action.

9. The Trust Fund issue also was explained to the Paramount Chief by the late Duke of Devonshire in 1923. One of the concessions granted by Mbandini, which is known as the Private Revenue Concession, provided for the payment of the sum of £12,000 per annum to the Paramount Chief and his successors so long as the holder of the concession should collect and receive such a sum in rates, taxes, rents and fees derivable from Swaziland and payable to the Paramount Chief. The concession had been acquired by the Transvaal Government in 1890 and was cancelled by a proclamation issued by His Majesty's High Commissioner in 1905. In a further proclamation issued in 1906 it was provided that the revenue collected in respect of the period 1st November, 1889, to the date of cancellation of the concession in 1905, should be paid to the Governor of the Transvaal (who was later replaced by His Majesty's High Commissioner), that it might be invested by him in such securities as he should determine, and that the income derived therefrom should be paid to the Paramount Chief. The sum held in trust amounts to £20,000. Lord Elgin in 1907 informed the Swazi deputation, to which reference has already been made, that an annual income of £800 would be paid to the Paramount Chief to be spent for the benefit of the Swazis. The late Duke of Devonshire pointed out to Sobhuza in 1923 that " the Trust Fund was established at the suggestion of the Secretary of State for the Colonies and that it is not improbable that if, instead of adopting this course, His Majesty's Government had handed over the whole of the capital, the Paramount Chief would not to-day be in receipt of the income which he derives from the Fund." If and when a Native Treasury can be established in Swaziland, His Majesty's High Commissioner will consider further, in consultation with the Paramount Chief, the question of paying over the capital sum involved into such a Treasury, on the understanding that it would be utilized for the benefit of the Swazi nation as a whole. But as explained above, the issue of the proposed native administration proclamation must precede the establishment of a Native Treasury.

10. The above are the replies which by His Majesty's Command I have to give to the Paramount Chief's Petition, and in view of the explanations given I cannot advise His Majesty to appoint a Commission with judicial powers to enquire into the matters raised in the Petition. His Majesty is satisfied that the fears entertained by the Paramount Chief in regard to the legislation which the High Commissioner has proposed to enact in Swaziland have no real justification, and he is confident that the Paramount Chief and Council will co-operate with the Swaziland Administration in the framing and working of such legislation. The King is deeply interested in the welfare of the Swazis which the proposed legislation is designed to promote, and desires that Your Lordship will convey to the Paramount Chief and Council an expression of his cordial good wishes for their happiness and for the prosperity of the Territory.

I have, &c.,

C. R. ATTLEE.

Y. 701/1/2.

No. 28.

DESPATCH

from

HIGH COMMISSIONER FOR BASUTOLAND, THE BECHUANALAND PROTECTORATE AND SWAZILAND.

(Received 18th June, 1943.)

Swaziland.

(No. 179, Confidential.)

SIR, Pretoria, 8th June, 1943.

Record of a Visit to Swaziland, 30th May to 4th June, 1943.

A new road now connects Barberton in the eastern Transvaal with the Havelock Asbestos Mine situated just inside the north-western corner of Swaziland. The surrounding scenery is a tumbling mass of steep mountains and deep narrow valleys, the mountains composed of very ancient sedimentary and serpentine rocks tilted by the convulsions of nature at sharply inclining angles. In this wild highland country is situated one of the most recent and remarkable examples of human enterprise undertaken by Messrs. Turner & Newall, of Rochdale, Lancashire, for the mining of asbestos. Operations began in 1936 and actual production in July, 1939. In the latter year, at a cost of £100,000, was completed a continuous aerial ropeway thirteen miles long from Barberton to the mine for the conveyance of the asbestos from the mine, and the necessary stores and supplies from Barberton to the mine. Round the mine there has grown up a new town, admirably planned and built for those engaged in the enterprise, the electric power house, machinery for the extraction, grading and packing of asbestos. The resident staff consists of about 100 Europeans with their wives and children, and 2,700 natives, mostly single men, but an appreciable number with their families.

2. The asbestos-bearing rock yields about 4½ tons of asbestos for every 100 tons of rock mined. The plant was designed to produce 2,000 tons of asbestos per month, but owing to war demands for this—the most valuable insulating material known—production has stepped up to 2,250 tons a month. The known deposits at this mine should give a life of about thirty years at this rate of production.

3. The nett yield of royalties, income tax, etc., on the mine now bring to the revenues of the Swaziland Government the sum of £70,000 which constitutes no small revolution in the financial history of that formerly poverty-stricken dependency.

4. But welcome as is this increase in wealth to the whole community of Swaziland, the mine and all connected with it are an even greater asset as an outstanding example of well-managed efficiency in every social and technical aspect, setting entirely new and superior standards of housing amenity and labour conditions. Native housing is admirable. Water-borne sewage has been installed throughout, and is pumped into a sewage farm over the watershed into a neighbouring valley. The native employees have electric light, free, varied and scientifically planned rations, free medical attention, and an admirable native hospital under a full-time medical man assisted by native medical aids (Nyasa boys from Blantyre). The health records show a remarkable achievement. About one-third of the native employees are from British Nyasaland, one-third from Portuguese East Africa, and one-third are local Swazis. Ordinary unskilled labour earns in cash, over and above the free services mentioned above, about 50s. per month. Truck boys earn about £5 a month, and a few leading boys even more. All native houses, etc., were built entirely with native labour. There is a large recreation hall for natives with a free cinema show once a week. Discipline, conduct and contentment are admirable. The nett cost of free rations to the Mining Company now works out at just over 1s. a day per head. The Company maintain their own force of about forty native police and guards.

5. There were only thirteen deaths of natives at the mine in the last calendar year—none from accidents. Six of the deaths were due to heart disease, three to influenza, one from pneumonia, and one from enteric fever. Phthisis is so far unknown, and at the date of my visit no death from sickness had occurred for six months.

6. After spending a night as the guest of Mr. Anderson, the Scottish Engineer Mine Manager, and seeing over the mine, I motored to Piggs Peak, the Government headquarters station in north-western Swaziland, where I met the local official and unofficial community. Near Pigg's Peak two old gold mines have recently been reopened, one by a Welsh miner named Baragwanath, who is now getting about 250 oz. of gold a month and hopes shortly to work up to 500 oz. per month in ore that yields about 4½ dwts. to the ton. I had a talk with Mr. Franklin, the leading local trader, who also holds the concession store at the Havelock Mine and has a cattle ranch of his own on the low veld in Swaziland. He is clearly doing remarkably well. He told me that in his opinion the present price of cattle was unreasonably high and profitable to all concerned, and that such prices and profits could not be expected to last. These prices are setting standards which could not be maintained and there was bound to be trouble when they are no longer obtainable. On the other hand, the curtailment of British imports of clothes and other necessaries which the natives buy at the stores had only been partially replaced by South American (especially Argentine) goods which were shoddy in quality and fantastically high in price, and this is causing a great deal of native discontent. Franklin added, however, that he had never in his long experience known so much money in native possession in Swaziland as there is to-day.

7. Leaving Pigg's Peak station we motored down across the deep Kumati valley across the river " pont," close to the ruins of one of the Colonial Development Fund bridges. I was told that quite recently the river rose over 39 feet in some twenty-four hours, spreading destruction everywhere in its path—another reminder that Africa is far from " tame." From the pont to Mbabane the road is in much of its length the dividing line between " Native Area " as the native reserves are called in Swaziland to the east and land owned in freehold by Transvaal sheep farmers to the west. All along the western edges of Swaziland this division is a factor of importance. The rights of these non-resident sheep farmers were acquired during or before the Administration of Swaziland by the Kruger Republic. They only use their Swaziland ranches from April to September each year. Much of this land would be excellent for summer tillage, but this they have on their main farms in Ermelo, Amsterdam, and Piet Retief districts. They tolerate a few native squatters without any rights and allow them to cultivate patches of mealies when they do not use their land, on condition that these native squatters provide free unpaid labour for herding their sheep. If this free unpaid labour is not forthcoming in the six winter months the squatters are turned off their land for good. There are troubles, too, about alleged sheep stealing and stock theft by natives, and relations between the Swazis and these sheep farmers are definitely unsatisfactory. But I fear that there is little prospect of acquiring any of these border sheep runs by purchase. The Boer farmers are very tenacious of their property and unwilling to sell even for high prices—prices higher than the land is really worth for permanent native settlement.

8. *En route* for Mbabane we passed Forbes Reef, an abandoned gold mine near which search is now being made for Tungsten. A little has been discovered, but the recent investigations of this area by the experts of " Union Corporation " have not been encouraging. Nevertheless, prospecting for this valuable war material is still continuing in the area by small private enterprise.

9. After luncheon at the Residency at Mbabane I received a visit from the Paramount Chief Sobhuza and four of his inner councillors to discuss the position in regard to the proposed Native Authorities and Native Courts Proclamations. The most intelligent of his councillors was Norman Kumalo who has visited London and attended a meeting of the International Labour Office in Geneva. He is better educated and more progressive than most Swazis, but his influence is regarded askance by the older and more reactionary Chiefs. I am afraid I made little progress with the Paramount Chief. The two main upshots of a long discussion were (1) that he wanted the same treaty relations with the British Government as were enjoyed by the " King " of Barotseland in Northern Rhodesia, and (2) that before commenting on the draft proclamations he wished to go to Johannesburg again to consult his advisers there. He mentioned ex-Senator Rheinallt Jones, and I have little doubt that he will also consult Dr. Seme, the lawyer, and Mrs. Kuper (formerly Hilda Beemer) the anthropologist.

10. I again formed the impression that Sobhuza is sensual, suspicious, and intensely superstitious. He is also weak of purpose and frightened of his reactionary uncles, who would never forgive him if he gave away the Swazis' claim to an alleged Sovereign independence and became in

any way subordinate to the British Government. Further, some of the old subordinate Chiefs, whose courts are notoriously bad and whose treatment of their common people is more to be paralleled by the conditions obtaining in the weak reign of King Stephen in mediæval England than anything we have experienced in our history, know that the draft proclamations are rightly the writing on the wall at Belshazzar's feast for them.

11. As to suspicion, we must remember on the Swazis' side the long bitter memories of their treatment by European adventurers before any regular European administration was set up. It is all the worse that perhaps the worst offender was an Englishman, a Shepstone, son of the famous Sir Theophilus Shepstone who earned the respect and confidence of the Zulus, and whose name therefore had prestige with the natives in the 1880's, a trust which he disgracefully betrayed in the interests of crooks and concession hunters of the worst kind. But the worst feature of the native situation in Swaziland is superstition of the most sinister and evil kind. Human sacrifice and ritual murder to make rain, witchcraft in many forms is still dominant in the minds of Chiefs and a large majority of the still un-Christianized pagan people. Sobhuza himself and the Queen Mother—the latter still always clad in unpleasantly odoriferous animal skins and wearing a fetish head band—are superstitious and continuously expected to practise ceremonials of the most primitive kind. The propitiation of hostile spooks and demons, the appeasing of the ever potential wrath of the tribal ancestral spirits, and all the flummery so dear to a certain school of anthropologist keep the Swazis in perpetual fear. Sobhuza is at this moment much interested in European occultism and is studying the books of Sir Oliver Lodge on this subject.

12. Mr. Armstrong, our Financial Secretary at Mbabane, is the son of a man who was in the Cape and then in the Union Native Commission service. As a boy he lived with his father in Pondoland, and then in what was formerly British (then Cape) Bechuanaland. The present Armstrong first served under the Union Native Affairs Department among the Hereros and Ovambos in ex-German South West Africa before transferring to our service in Basutoland. He told me on this visit that he regarded the Swazi as at least one hundred years behind any other Bantu tribe in Southern Africa.

13. Native education of all kinds is far more backward in our Swaziland than in the Union of South Africa or either of the other two High Commission Territories. The percentage of the total native population of all ages receiving any education in Swaziland is 4·5, in the Union 6·5, and in Basutoland 12·5. Missionary effort—and particularly that of the Church of England under the Bishop of Zululand—has been singularly unsuccessful so far in Swaziland.

14. It is only in the southern districts near the Zulu border and round Goedgegun that you see natives on the roads in European clothes and who have active Native Farmers' Associations and progressive ideas. In central Swaziland under the control of Sobhuza and his Chiefs the commonalty may be more picturesque in the ancient rig and carrying their spears, knobkerries and sticks, but they have to my eye, a primitive and at times haunted look—so very different to the fearless self-confident modern Basuto.

15. Obviously, we ought to try to modernize and train the Native Authority in Swaziland along lines that have achieved such remarkable progress for all in other parts of British Africa, but it is going to be a very uphill task, both for us and for them.

16. The paramount need now for the natives in Swaziland is more extensive and better education, and if the Missions will not or cannot provide it then it is clearly up to the Government to fill the vast lacuna. This, too, is inevitably a slow long-range policy. But more than one official in Swaziland told me that when the 3,000 Swazi soldiers return from the Middle East after the war with their new experience, contacts and education up there, there may be trouble from below, as they will never submit to returning to the feudal tyranny of the all too common worse class of Chief.

17. Sobhuza asked me to express his gratitude to you for meeting his request for more land. Some 160,000 acres of European land have been acquired to date for settling with Swazis. I had to make it clear to Sobhuza that we could not give him a free hand in the distribution of this new land. I am afraid he is suspicious about this. But obviously the interests of threatened squatters on European farms, as well as the fair division of the land will need our firm guidance, and control if justice and equity are to be preferred to favouritism. It is true, however, that by ancient Swazi native custom the Paramount Chief has had full and arbitrary personal control over the allocation of native land. Swaziland is beset with difficulties at every turn.

18. The following morning I held a three hours' conference with all the heads of departments in the Resident Commissioner's office. The recent introduction of new blood and further impending departures have certainly changed for good the atmosphere since my last visit.

19. Mr. Armstrong gave an encouraging account of the financial situation of the Protectorate. Native direct tax has, owing to the increased prosperity this year, yielded a high record in Swaziland's history at £47,000. Most other sources of revenue, except Customs which has inevitably declined, show increases. The consolidated loan will be paid off this year. In the last year Swaziland has sold for export to the Union no less than 15,000 head of cattle at excellent and improved prices. The pay and allowances of the 3,000 odd Swazis in the army up north have brought a lot of money into the country. Recruiting for the Witwatersrand Gold Mines and Witbank Coal Mines has been brisk. In January there were 4,252 so employed and in March this year no less than 6,028. Though native arable crops have been disappointing, the Creamery has paid them well. In 1938 the produce of the factory at Bremersdorp was 175,000 lb. of butter and the natives were paid £4,500 for milk. In 1942 the factory made 365,000 lb. of butter and the natives received over £9,300 for milk. There are now over 2,300 native supporters. This has been one of the beneficent results of the activities of the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund.

20. Though as elsewhere the important maize crop this year has been a disastrous failure on European and native land in Swaziland, the tobacco farmers, mostly Afrikaners but including a number of natives, have harvested a record crop of half a million lb. of higher average quality and assured of a higher price than ever before. The groundnut crop also did well.

21. There was a very different *tempo* among the heads of departments at this conference than when I first visited Swaziland. On the former occasion I was horrified at the lack of policy, planning, co-ordination or efficiency. Mr. Featherstone is handling a difficult situation with tact, industry and firmness. The new young Director of Public Works, Roberts, is clearly a " find," a very welcome change after the tragic inadequacy of the previous regime. However, he and the Financial Secretary are finding that the Augean stable of the old Public Works Department is indeed Augean. I visited the central Public Works Department depot at Mbabane. New buildings are now going up to replace the utterly disgraceful tumble-down shacks. The Stores Department is—though the cupboard is pretty bare—slowly emerging from the chaos of inefficiency with which it was administered until quite lately. Salvage of derelict Public Works Department vehicles and property is coming in for repair from all over the country. But the leeway of long inept maladministration in this department is going to be a big job to catch up. The housing of European officials and their native domestic staff has long been a scandal, and disgraceful by the standards set at the Havelock Mine. Not only has there never been a policy of a " stitch in time," but even when money has been authorized for urgent repairs no adequate steps were taken to see that the work was properly done, and much public money has thus been wasted. The whole range of this particular service seems to have been inspired by that comic artist, Mr. Heath Robinson, rather than by intelligible architecture. To be quite fair to the recently retired individual mainly responsible, I may add that no official house in the capital was more lamentable in every respect than the late Director of Public Works' own dwelling. Like so many things in our past administration of Swaziland the old regime had drifted slowly down from inefficiency to inefficiency.

22. I grant that the maintenance of any reasonable standard of efficiency in a small, impecunious, isolated bureaucracy is always an uphill task. It is, indeed, difficult—some of the West Indian islands are lamentable examples—to maintain any tolerable standards of Governmental efficiency without constant infusion of new—and preferably new young blood into the departments from outside. I repeat, too, that in a small dependency like Swaziland the normal retiring age of all Government officials should be 55 years and not 60 as in the Bechuanaland Protectorate. It is not a matter of climate, but mental outlook and background. Not that the climate of much of malarious Swaziland is anything to boast about.

23. At our meeting Dr. Drew, the principal Medical Officer, told us that the medical problems of Swaziland in order of priority are (1) Malaria, (2) Helminthic intestinal parasites—especially tape worm, (3) Bilharzia, and (4) Syphilis. Malaria is an annual scourge throughout Swaziland below 2,500 feet, and in bad years throughout the territory during the summer months. Apart from the actual disease the results of it are generally debilitating to both Europeans and natives. When I visited the Nazarene Mission Hospital at Bremersdorp on this occasion an appreciable number of patients of all races were " malarial " cases. The hospital accommodation and hospital staff of Swaziland are both quite inadequate for present needs. It is a sign of progress that in 1935 there were only 604 native in-patients in all hospitals, while last year (1942) there were 4,522—an indication that the " taboo " against European hospitals and medicine is breaking down even among the Swazis. But still their habit is first to resort to the local native witchdoctor, and there is still an all too current belief that all disease is the result of spiritual rather than physical causes. In this matter many Swazis remain where Mrs. Eddy, of Boston, United States of America, began.

24. I visited the remarkable Nazarene Missionary Hospital at Bremersdorp, under the dominant leadership of Dr. Hynd, the best surgeon and trainer of native nurses in the country. Dr. Hynd is an outstanding personality, but his theological views are fierce in the extreme. He has a special " down " on tobacco, and woe betide any person who dares to light a cigarette in his presence. Alcohol in any form is equally forbidden as a dangerous stimulant by the Seven Day Adventists. But looking to the future we cannot always count on this mission producing another Dr. Hynd.

25. After the conference with heads of departments and a luncheon party at the Residency, I spent a most interesting hour with Mr. Way, the new geologist from Uganda. Mr. Way is thrilled by the geological interest of Swaziland with its immense series of rocks of all ages and its varied assortment of valuable minerals. Asbestos I have already written about. It would appear that not many miles south of the Havelock Mine there is a large deposit of most valuable haematite, a high grade iron ore commonly called " Kidney " ore. There are huge deposits of coal along the Lubombo flats from north to south—anthracite in the north and bituminous toward the south. Tin from pegmatite which also contains kaolin (China clay) as well as crystals of cassiterite (tin oxide) occur in the Western Highlands. Mr. Way is of opinion that the upper streams now being panned are small in potentialities, compared with the possibilities of much larger deposits in some of the lower river valleys, especially that of the Mhlatuzane, which would require large capital and machinery for efficient or indeed any development. He has found interesting specimens of some rare minerals, such as those containing thorium and titanium, and a large deposit in southern Swaziland of crystalline calcite (CaCO3). He showed me specimens of high grade fluorspar, copper pyrites and corundum. Corundum is already being dug out close to Hlatikulu, the Government station in southern Swaziland, and several tons of high grade ore have been recovered in recent months. Mr. Way is clear that there are important mineral possibilities of various kinds in many parts of Swaziland. Distance from a railway, the antediluvian state of the existing mineral laws of the Protectorate, and lack of any adequate geological survey hitherto have prevented the development of Swaziland's varied mineral wealth.

26. I then proceeded to visit St. Mark's Anglican European school. When I was last in Swaziland this, the only English school for English-speaking children of any consequence, had fallen on evil days and into financial difficulties. Under a new Headmaster and the personal zeal and interest of the new Resident Commissioner the school, in spite of inadequate premises, is on the up grade and now has about one hundred pupils of all ages going up to matriculation standard. The *ex officio* Chairman is the Bishop of Zululand who rarely visits Swaziland. In his absence the clerical element is provided by the aged Archdeacon of Swaziland. I am afraid that to my irreverent mind the spectacle of an elderly Archdeacon who might have stepped out of the pages of one of Anthony Trollope's early Victorian novels, clad in frock coat, black knee-breeches and gaiters set against a background of wild looking Swazis and African bush struck me as irresistibly comic. It

is a curious historical fact that venerable dignitaries of the Anglican hierarchy have got stuck in the riding costume of the country clergy of the mid-eighteenth century, a period of the Church's long history more notable for its lack of spiritual and ethical *élan* than at any other time—save for the production from within its bosom of the outstanding characters of the Wesleys. It is bad enough that Eton boys have still to wear the wide mourning bands round their inconvenient top hats that they first wore at the funeral of King George III, but that this fantastic eighteenth century clerical costume and all that goes with it should still be exported to places like Swaziland is a ridiculous anachronism.

27. The following morning I went first to the Swazi National School at Matapa, where the Paramount Chief and a large section of his court received me with a formal address that included the suggestion that Matapa was the embryo of a full-blooded degree-granting University for Africans in Southern Africa. At present only a few pupils reach even the standard of a junior certificate. Still, the school although short of funds and attempting rather too much may prove to be a valuable institution. Several of the pupils are Sobhuza's own children by his innumerable wives. Mr. Keen, the Headmaster, is good and seems to be able to surmount many difficulties, and some of the native masters struck me as definitely good. The control of this school has been and still is a subject of much controversy, but clearly it is a valuable fact that the Paramount Chief takes a personal interest in this particular institution, and more might be made of it. I am afraid that our present Director of Education, Mr. Glyn, is not remarkable for either tact or adaptability.

28. I then visited the Government experimental farm, and in the afternoon Dr. Hynd's Nazarene Mission Hospital, school and orphanage. In the evening I met local officials at the Club in Bremersdorp, the former capital of Swaziland under the Boer Republican Administration of Swaziland before 1902. One of the more interesting and ambitious European farmers there, a Mr. Gebers, of ultimate German extraction, has made a success in the growing of tung oil—a valuable oil varnish to-day worth about £300 a ton. His trees are just coming into bearing. It requires six tons of nuts to produce, when crushed, one ton of tung oil. He is most anxious to get a press to extract the oil locally. The soil and climatic conditions of mid-Swaziland seem ideal for this crop.

29. The following morning we set out by car for the low veld, via the new low-level bridge over the large Great Usutu River, another blessing of the Colonial Development Fund, for Hlatikulu. The low or bush veld of Swaziland is fascinating country—abounding in wild game—ideal for cattle ranching and full of an immense variety of fine indigenous trees, bushes and wild flowers. The climate is tropical. The distant scenery is superb with the long line of the Lobombo escarpment to the east and the peaked buttresses of the high veld 5,000 feet high to the west. In no small country is the scenery and vegetation so ever varying and pleasing as in beautiful, but still rather pathetic, Swaziland.

30. Hlatikulu is the hill-top Government official station of the Southern districts. There is a good Government hospital, ably manned by a Dr. Gutowitz, a German Jewish refugee who escaped into Switzerland from a Nazi concentration camp just before the war. He qualified in Munich University, and in addition to this Government work he has by his outstanding ability as a physician attracted a considerable private practice from among European Afrikaners in the Union across the border. He is only permitted to practice in Swaziland, where his assistance is highly appreciated by Europeans and natives alike.

31. If Hlatikulu is the Government centre, Goedgegun is the commercial and farming capital, and headquarters of the Tobacco Co-operative Society. This society has 250 European farmer members, 90 per cent. of whom are Afrikaans-speaking. At Goedgegun is the only school in Swaziland for their children. At present it is overcrowded and ill-founded, especially as regards hostel accommodation. There are about 180 European children. This is the one institution in Swaziland that prevents these children becoming " poor whites " with all the devastating results to themselves, to the local natives, and to the whole community of Swaziland of the tragedy of illiterate poor whiteism. I was particularly pleased to be able to announce the inclusion in this year's estimate of the necessarily considerable sum to ensure more adequate accommodation, better pay for a very keen and deserving staff of teachers and a scholarship scheme to the more promising pupils worthy of higher education at institutions in the Transvaal. The school was pathetically keen to explain to me how the bulk of the instruction at Goedgegun is in English. I fear I thought this is all wrong. It should be a real bilingual school, but as the home language of 90 per cent. of the pupils is Afrikaans only, the bulk of the instruction, in the lower standards especially, should in my opinion be in Afrikaans. Co-operation with a local committee in the management of this school is eminently desirable. The local Afrikaners are keenly patrotic and quite a number have joined the Union Defence Forces. Their resettlement on return from the war is, I feel, a matter of some importance to the Government and future well-being of Swaziland. The remainder are to a majority enrolled in a keen local Rifle Club under the energetic command of Captain Prinsloo who fought in the last war. The number of men in his corps whose name is Jacobus Potgieter is as formidable as the number of John Jones's in the Royal Welch Fusiliers. I was given a particularly warm personal reception by this ancient settled Afrikaner community in Southern Swaziland.

32. My former visit to Swaziland filled me with gloom. This time I begin to see a new dawn—not very bright as yet, but still I have renewed hope of better things. There is a terrible lot to be done in every department and a great need for more effective team work and better co-ordination between all departments, not only at headquarters but in every district. New energetic staff will be needed in every department after the war. Better education for all races probably comes first. Better housing, better communications, better health services, a drive for greater agricultural efficiency—European as well as native—will be required. Mineral development is a real possibility. Given the capital as well as the recurrent expenditure necessary to these ends, Swaziland may yet be redeemed from its past tragic status as the least reputable and most backward and neglected of British Dependencies to something more worthy of our Imperial duty and responsibiltiy. Some planned and sustained continuity of policy and higher direction will be needed over a period of years.

33. The political uncertainty of the future of the Territory is still an unsettling factor in the minds of all—official as well as unofficial, European and native. I regard it as essential that this shall be decided by His Majesty's Government and the Union Government at the conclusion of hostilities if anything effective is to be done. It is not an easy decision. Economically and materially I have little doubt that the vast majority of Swazilanders would gain by incorporation in the Union and the joining up of the dead ends of railway connection with the South African Railways that approach its borders. On the other hand the wishes of the population, Europeans as well as native, are a matter of doubt and uncertainty. I have only one clear opinion and that is that if we in Great Britain are to retain responsibility for Swaziland we must do more for it—both in direction, in clearly formulated policy and financial assistance than we have done in the forty years since we first assumed that responsibility after its transfer from Republican rule.

34. If I have done nothing else as High Commissioner here at least I have attempted to report to the Dominions Office the unvarnished truth about Swaziland as I have seen it, however unwelcome and unpalatable. The situation I found on arrival was frankly quite deplorable and indefensible in practically every aspect of Governmental activity. There was no defined goal or policy, only a tentative hand to mouth policy of administrative drift. The whole machinery of Government was obsolete and needed electric shocks to galvanize it into some sort of life. This at least has now been administered, and doubtless I am regarded by some in Swaziland as a dangerous and violent radical, feared and inevitably not loved by those, whether European or native, who are wedded to *l'ancien régime*. Pouring new wine into such old bottles may burst some skins, but such skins are not worth preservation even as historical or anthropological specimens. In Swaziland I am clear that we must indeed " get on or get out." It is most unfortunate that well intentioned people in England such as Miss Margery Perham should continue to live in such a fool's paradise, regarding the actualities of Swaziland. The many contrasts between Swaziland and the other two High Commission Territories are obvious to anyone who has first-hand experience of the Territories, or of the recent developments of British Colonial policy and practice in East and West Africa. Yet appeals are made by Sobhuza and well meaning persons in the Union of South Africa to unofficial bodies and individuals in England which are apparently accepted at their face value and tend to confound the task of any progressive reformer anxious to promote the better welfare of the Swazi people. The Administration is up against formidable difficulties and only a firm, determined and continuous policy laid down by those ultimately responsible to Parliament can ensure success in any endeavour for improvement. It must always be borne in mind that a third of the Swazi tribe live not in Swaziland but in the Transvaal and that in comparison with the other two High Commission Territories Swaziland is historically, economically and still factually more intimately connected with the Union of South Africa. Swaziland is not merely a native reserve. It has European problems peculiar to itself, and a considerable European unofficial resident population whose views, interests and aspirations must always be taken into account, and a not inconsiderable proportion of this community is not British either in speech or racial descent.

35. I conclude by expressing my gratitude to you for selecting as Resident Commissioner an officer of the ability and skill of Mr. Featherstone, and for the support you have given me in my endeavours to bring about a better state of affairs in Swaziland.

I have, &c.,

HARLECH.

High Commissioner.

Y. 963/2/2 [No. 4]: Enclosure No. 29.

MEMORANDUM.

NATIVE SETTLEMENT ON PURCHASED AND ON CROWN LAND IN SWAZILAND.

(Communicated by High Commissioner, Pretoria, 2nd November, 1943.)

In Swaziland the position as regards native land was complicated by the grant of land cessions on the widest scale by the Chiefs ruling between 1878 and 1890 before the British Government had accepted any responsibility for that Territory; it was, indeed, at one time calculated that the Chiefs had " conceded " to Europeans, more than the total area of the country. The majority of these land concessions were held to be valid by a court established for their examination under a Convention of 1890 between the British Government and the South African Republic. When the British Government took over the Territory from the Transvaal in 1903, their main concern was the problem thus created.

2. The first step was the issue of the Swaziland Crown Lands Order in Council, 1907, and the Concessions Proclamation of the same year, which conferred on the Government the right, first to adjudicate on the validity of Concessions already made, secondly to set aside such land as was needed for the exclusive use of natives, and thirdly to treat the remainder as Crown land available for grants to non-natives or for other purposes.

3. A Commissioner was then appointed to investigate the position with instructions to select ample and good land for the acccommodation of the Swazis and for the reasonable expansion of the tribe (but not to allow for the immigration of other natives into Swaziland).

4. The result of the proceedings of 1907 left the total area of the territory of 2,027,205 morgen or about 4,290,660 acres divided roughly into a native area of 773,960 morgen (1,638,117 acres) and a Crown area of 304,169 morgen (643,786 acres) the remainder, 949,076 morgen (2,008,757 acres) being in the hands of European Concession holders who received freehold title from the Crown in consideration of the surrender of one-third of each concession for the exclusive use of the Swazi nation. The Swazis subsequently purchased from European owners 32,443 morgen (68,667 acres) and the Crown alienated to Europeans considerable areas out of its own portion.

The present figures are 1,122,400 morgen (2,375,604 acres) in possession of Europeans, 86,535 morgen (183,154 acres) of Crown land, 11,211 morgen (23,728 acres) Crown land subject to

servitudes, 668 morgen (1,414 acres) townships, etc., and 773,960 morgen (1,638,117 acres) in 35 scattered blocks held by Swazis known as " Native Areas," and 32,443 morgen (68,667 acres) purchased by the Swazis.

5. The Swazi population resident in Swaziland was at the time of the partition estimated to be 95,000 and the land allocated to the Swazi nation was calculated to provide approximately 60 acres for each native family. At the last census taken in the year 1936 the total native population of Swaziland had increased to 153,270 and it is believed that the true figure is higher. In 1940 the population in the Native Areas was approximately 126,220. Therefore, taking the minimum population figure, there are 27,050 people residing in Swaziland outside the Native Areas, representing 5,410 family units of five persons. These people are living (or " squatting " as it is called) on Crown land, or the land of absentee European landowners, and a small number on occupied European farms. They constitute, with few exceptions, the landless section of the Swazi nation. Under present conditions they have no permanent home or agricultural future.

6. When a European purchases a farm which he intends to occupy and farm beneficially he very naturally takes immediate action to eject any native farmers residing there. In other cases, though a farmer may have allowed a number of native squatters on his land, the time may come when for one reason or another he wishes to get rid of them, and he can do so after due notice to the natives and the local District Commissioner.

7. The ejected native families, who may have been residing on the land for long periods, are then without a home or any form of subsistence. The head of the family may try to secure a place for their dependants in the nearest Native Area, or he may drift on to other European-owned, but not European-occupied land, only to be ejected again at a later date.

8. Half the existing Native Areas are already over-populated and re-distribution of population from them to under-populated areas is necessary. These areas cannot afford a solution of the problem of the " squatters " on European-owned land who require resettlement on a permanent basis.

9. In 1942, in a petition to His Majesty the King, the Paramount Chief of Swaziland *inter alia* complained that the Swazi people could not avoid deterioration unless they could be assured of the occupation of wider areas in Swaziland.

10. An investigation into this complaint satisfied the High Commissioner that in addition to the introduction of measures to correct the maldistribution of population and stock, the provision of additional areas of land for landless Swazis was a matter of urgency and vital importance. In fact, Government was morally bound to make provision for these people for whose well-being it is responsible.

11. In consequence, steps have been taken by Government to acquire by purchase, suitable European-owned properties with funds provided by His Majesty's Government under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act. In addition it is proposed to utilize approximately 64,000 morgen (135,449 acres) of Crown land for native settlement. A proportion of this Crown land is considered inferior to the carefully selected purchased land. This factor will be taken into consideration by increasing the size of holding. The balance of Crown land is required by Government for townships and essential services such as Demonstration and Experimental farms for the Veterinary and Agricultural Department.

12. The initial sum provided under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act was £150,000 covering £100,000 for the purchase of land; £30,000 for further capital expenditure on non-recurring services and £20,000 for recurrent expenditure over a period of five years. It is expected that an application for a further sum of approximately £40,000 will be required to cover the cost of additional purchases of land which have since been arranged. It will be realized that at the termination of this five-year period, which is regarded as the initial period estimated for construction, the supervision and direction of the agricultural and livestock operations of the settlers will not end there. Education in suitable agricultural and marketing methods, etc., by a competent resident staff will be continued to consolidate gradually the work over a long period of years. In fact, the success or otherwise of the settlements will depend on the careful, tactful guidance accorded to the settlers from the day they are placed on the land. It is the lack of subsequent interested guidance and supervision of settlement work which has resulted in the ultimate break-down of many promising settlement schemes. The native is particularly responsive and trustful of guidance by those who take a personal interest in his welfare. From the foregoing remarks it will be clear that recurrent expenditure on agricultural supervision, education, etc., will continue indefinitely.

13. 108,609 morgen have now been purchased under the scheme, equal approximately to 229,875 acres. The properties purchased are practically all adjacent to existing Native Areas, and special regard has been given to their proximity to congested Native Areas and European-owned areas carrying many native families. In every instance, except one, only those properties with a good peasant carrying capacity suitable for native settlement have been purchased. The one exception is broken, rather rugged country, but well-watered and excellent for livestock. It already carries a fairly large number of native families.

14. In addition to the capital expenditure on land purchases, expenditure will be incurred on the following non-recurring services on both purchased and Crown lands:—

(i) Construction of road approaches to farms and dairies.
(ii) Construction of water supplies and dipping tanks.
(iii) Fencing of bull camps, pasture and forest reserves.
(iv) Construction of houses for staff and caretakers.
(v) Anti-erosion work.
(vi) Erection of schools to cater for new population.

Recurrent expenditure will be incurred on:—

(i) Anti-malaria work.
(ii) Salaries of Land Settlement Officers, Surveyor and staffs.

15. It is recognized that if the land purchased under this scheme is to be safeguarded from destructive farming methods, and if the Swazi settlers and their descendants are to derive full benefit the resettlement and agricultural methods must be carefully controlled.

16. The first essential is an accurate agricultural survey of each purchased property and of the Crown land area to be utilized for settlement purposes. For this purpose an Agricultural Officer and a Surveyor have been selected for special appointment under the local Agricultural Department. They must plan settlement in relation to land, social services, and the marketing of produce. They must take into consideration the question of domestic water supplies, the provision of water supplies in grazing areas, and the planning of roads and communications; the suitable location of sites for schools, grazing areas, dipping tanks, bull camps. They will have to deal with watercourses and marshy sections in malaria areas, and plan the necessary measures against erosion.

17. The Agricultural Adviser to the High Commissioner, Mr. R. W. Thornton, C.B.E., who has had considerable experience of land settlement and schemes in the Union of South Africa and many other parts of the world, has given this picture of the lay-out of each block of land:—

> " An arable holding should be provided for each settler of from 6 to 15 acres of land. The actual area would be dependent upon the type of soil, rainfall, the actual amount of land to be laid down to crops for human consumption and that to be utilized for the maintenance of possibly, cows, pigs, poultry, etc. The homestead allotment to be half an acre, adjacent to the agricultural allotment, and to carry the homestead, buildings, vegetable garden, fruit trees, and, at the lowest corner, the manure dump. Communal grazing land, on the basis of at least 45 acres per family, to be situated as close to the homestead and agricultural allotments as the topography of the area will permit. This communal grazing for any group to be divided into three, to permit of suitable rotational grazing. Each settler will only be allowed the number of livestock which, together with those of his neighbours, will not cause overstocking of the grazing area. Each litttle group to have wood lots from which supplies of firewood and building material can be drawn. These wood lots may, according to the land, form one continuous block or be individual wood lots. Each group of settlers to have a suitable domestic water supply, and be served with schooling and dipping tank facilities and also milk separating stations or huts. The latter to be worked on similar lines to those already established in Swaziland. The land to be planted and worked in such manner as to protect it against deterioration; in other words, a diversity of crops must be planted so as to permit of rotation. All holdings must be protected against erosion by the use of Napier fodder strips or other suitable grass, planted on the contour, which will provide extensive feed for animals and at the same time stabilize the land against erosion."

18. The objects of the above-mentioned planned lay-out are to ensure complete protection of the land for posterity and to permit of the permanent establishment of an economically satisfied Native peasant community.

19. On the all-important question of system of land tenure Mr. Thornton has written:—

> " I was a great enthusiast at one time for freehold tenure, but, like Sir Frank Stockdale, who dealt with this question in his report on his investigations in the West Indies* I have come to the conclusion that there is no surer way of ruining the land than where freehold is applied in the case of people who have not yet developed sufficiently to permit of their realizing that the land is not theirs to ruin for rapid, temporary gain, but is only theirs to live from economically, and has to be maintained and even built up for posterity.
>
> " The system of leasehold tenure permits of absolute security of tenure as long as the individual concerned works his land correctly in his own interests and the interests of those to come after him. But if he fails in this respect, he can be removed and a more amenable, sound and progressive individual can take his place. I would strongly recommend, that in the case of the land in Swaziland, leasehold tenure be applied, but that no rent, not even 1s. a holding, be asked for it at this stage, but that we obtain our results in the establishment, on a sound economic basis, of the peasants placed on the land. We must show that the land is the home, a pleasant and economically sound home, where the people will wish to live, and live contentedly. The people must remain within the tribal system, to which they are accustomed, but under their leasehold tenure, if they default from the conditions laid down for the preservation of the land, they must not be retained as tenants. We are embarking on a scheme which, if the value of the Crown land is taken into consideration, along with the value of the land purchased and the sum of £50,000 allocated for the lay-out of the settlement, will, in total, amount to over a quarter of a million. For this reason, which is not the main one, we cannot afford to make any mistakes. A quarter of a million is a considerable sum of money, but its value is small compared with the ultimate value of making a success of this undertaking. If we make a success then we can, in course of time, extend the system gradually to the Native Reserves throughout Swaziland. The present venture will also serve as a basis on which to operate in the future, even if it is 25 or more years hence, in Basutoland and Bechuanaland."

20. It only remains to be said that Mr. Thornton's proposals as to the methods to be adopted in this land settlement scheme have been approved by the Secretary of State, and steps are being immediately taken to inaugurate the work.

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* Colonial No. 184.

(d) General

Y. 708/14. No. 30.

MEMORANDUM BY LORD HARLECH ON THE PROGRESS OF THE HIGH COMMISSION TERRITORIES DURING HIS TERM OF OFFICE AS HIGH COMMISSIONER.

(Received in Dominions Office 7th July, 1944, under cover of despatch from Deputy High Commissioner No. 259 General of 19th June, 1944.)

PART I. POLITICAL AND LEGISLATIVE.

NATIVE ADMINISTRATION.

1. Many difficult and important problems regarding Native Administration have been and are under consideration in all three Territories.

2. In Basutoland the overdue reform of the National Council is being pressed, and measures for the establishment of a Native Treasury are now being discussed with the Regent and the Chiefs. Opposition must be expected seeing that any progressive policy designed to eliminate abuses is naturally not acceptable to those Chiefs who have benefited by practices which can no longer be regarded as compatible with the interests of the people or British concepts of equity. Progress must therefore be gradual as full and patient explanations must be given so that the greatest possible measure of acceptance may be secured for reforms.

3. In the Bechuanaland Protectorate, with its more progressive and enlightened Chiefs (particularly Tshekedi) more rapid progress has been made, and some finality has been reached with the promulgation of the Bechuanaland Protectorate Native Administration Proclamation, No. 32 of 1943. Native Treasuries have functioned for the last five years, particularly successfully in the larger Native Reserves. The policy of indirect rule has accordingly made definite advance.

4. In Swaziland projects for the establishment of a proper system of Native Administration and the much needed control and reform of the native courts have made little advance—largely owing to the attitude of the Paramount Chief and his Council towards the local Administration and any proposals which it may make. Throughout the past three years constant efforts have been made by me to improve matters, but so far without any success. The Resident Commissioner is, however, of the opinion that some progress is being made, but only sustained and determined effort seems likely to achieve anything.

NATIVE COURTS.

5. Concurrently with the Native Administration Proclamation a Native Courts Proclamation was issued in 1943 in respect of the Bechuanaland Protectorate for the reorganization and improvement of the Native Courts established in 1935. In connexion with the reform of Native Administration in Basutoland, proposals have also been formulated for the elimination of redundant Courts and for the more regular payment of Court members and staff.

6. The problems of the various Territories in these matters are treated in greater detail in the following paragraphs.

Basutoland.

7. Chieftainess Mantsebo Seeiso was given formal recognition as Regent by the Secretary of State on the 10th May, 1941. Subsequently her appointment as Regent was disputed by Chief Bereng Griffith and the case was heard in the High Court of Basutoland before a Judge borrowed from the Union Judiciary to try the case, who, on the 30th March, 1943, dismissed the claims and gave judgment in favour of the Regent with costs. Chief Bereng Griffith lodged an appeal to the Privy Council but, although leave was granted under the usual conditions, he failed to prosecute the appeal within the prescribed period.

8. At its last Session the Basutoland Council unanimously recommended the appointment of a Standing Committee, consisting of five of its own members elected for that purpose, to meet at Matsieng, to which all important questions of policy affecting the daily life of the Basuto and the Native Administration should be referred by the Resident Commissioner and the Paramount Chief. This Standing Committee is now functioning. The Council further recommended the establishment of District Councils and the representation of sectional interests on the Basutoland Council.

9. Unremitting effort has been given to the furtherance of the proposals for the establishment of a National Treasury, its conduct and management, the collection of tax by the Native Administration, the payment of salaries to Chiefs, Sub-Chiefs and Headmen, the reorganization of the Native Courts and the payment of salaries to all those engaged in the work of these Courts. These reforms are of paramount importance if the Native Authorities in Basutoland are to be put on a sound basis.

10. The following important Proclamations and Notices have been promulgated since May, 1941:—

1941.	Proclamation No. 35.	Native Administration (Amendment) Proclamation. (Defining the expression "Paramount Chief").
1942.	Proclamation No. 5.	Native Labour Proclamation.
	Proclamation No. 12.	General Interpretation Proclamation.
	Proclamation No. 17.	Trade Unions and Trade Disputes Proclamation.
	Proclamation No. 28.	Wool Packing and Marking Proclamation.
1943.	Proclamation No. 3.	Concealment of Birth Proclamation.
	Proclamation No. 24.	Importation of Livestock Proclamation.
	Notice No. 111.	Subordinate Court Rules.
1944.	Proclamation No. 16.	Establishing Court of the Judicial Commissioner in Basutoland.

In addition numerous High Commissioner's Notices have been issued under the Basutoland Emergency Powers (Defence) Proclamation, 1939, as War Measures for the control of various commodities.

11. To avoid unnecessary repetition it may be well to explain at this stage that the general policy in all three Territories has been to follow the Union as closely as the circumstances of the Territories permit in matters of wartime commodity control. Thus, for example, in regard to rubber, petrol, textiles, the Union legislation has been applied almost without alteration, while in regard to other commodities and to price control generally Union measures have been adapted to meet the requirements of the Territories. The administration of these controls has involved a great deal of additional work for the staff of the three Territories.

Bechuanaland Protectorate.

12. A list of the more important legislative enactments of the Bechuanaland Protectorate is attached. (*Annexure* 1.)

13. The Labour Legislation as in the case of Basutoland is designed to ensure that the obligations incurred in connexion with the various Labour Conventions are being carried out.

14. The Native Administration and Native Courts Proclamations mark further advances in the development of a system of local government in the Bechuanaland Protectorate and are intended to remedy defects and make adjustments where experience of the working of the previous legislative and administrative arrangements have proved desirable. The revised laws were discussed in draft form at much length with the various Chiefs and their Councils in order to ensure that the policy underlying the laws was thoroughly understood and that the detailed provisions were workable in practice. The Resident Commissioner reports that in fact they are working very satisfactorily.

15. The Personal and Savings Fund Levy is an adaptation of Union Income Tax measures with a view to maintaining uniformity as far as possible with the Union in the matter of taxation. Further information in regard to taxation will be found in paragraph 5 of Part II.

16. The Control of Livestock Industry Proclamation 1941 gives powers to prevent the smuggling of cattle the various borders, and to deal with the movement of livestock generally. Adequate control, especially in regard to infectious or contagious disease, is of the highest importance if Union markets are to be kept open for cattle from the Territories.

Swaziland.

17. A list of the more important Proclamations is attached (*Annexure II*). The remarks in regard to Basutoland and the Bechuanaland Protectorate are to a large extent applicable also to the Swaziland legislation.

18. *Land Settlement—Swaziland.*—Reference has been made in paragraph 4 to the suspicious attitude of the Swaziland Chiefs and people. One very important measure which it is hoped will in time go far to remove these suspicions is the recent purchase of land from European owners for the settlement of Swaziland natives for whom the lands previously set aside for native occupation are inadequate. Measures to ensure the more productive use of these newly acquired lands are being worked out, and it will take some years before the settlement of unsurveyed and unequipped land can be completed.

This important development has been made possible by a grant of £190,000 from Colonial Development and Welfare Funds for the purchase of the land, and for services, capital and recurrent, in connexion with its lay-out and administration over a period of five years. Application for further sums for the administration of the scheme is under consideration.

PART II. FINANCIAL.

Basutoland.

1. In 1940 a free gift of £100,000 was made to His Majesty's Government from Basutoland funds for the prosecution of the war. Notwithstanding this, on the 31st March, 1944, when the last financial year ended, the accumulated surplus is estimated with Crown Agents balances to be about £500,000, the surplus on the last year's working being £115,000. To the total the year 1942–43 (revenue £469,000) contributed a surplus of £68,000, while in 1941–42 there was a surplus of approximately £6,000 in addition to a refund of £49,000 in respect of Colonial Development Fund loans then outstanding. From the accumulated surplus, loans, free of interest, amounting to £180,000 have been made by the Basutoland Government to the British Government.

2. Shortage of staff, due to the secondment of officers for military service and the impossibility of any extensive recruitment of suitable officers while the war lasts, together with shortage of materials also due to the war, have prevented expenditure on measures urgently needed for the welfare and advancement of the natives of Basutoland, for which funds would normally be available from the surplus balances. Plans are, however, being made to take advantage of the very favourable financial position as soon as hostilities cease.

3. That this prosperity is spread among the people of Basutoland is clearly shown by the large amounts being placed in the Post Office Savings Banks. The total deposits made for the quarter 31st March, 1944, alone amounted to some £53,000.

4. *Customs and Excise.*—With the exception of one of the financial years under review the contributions under the Customs Agreement by the Customs Department of the Union were greatly in excess of the amounts included in the original estimates. Excise duties on spirits imported into Basutoland were increased in August, 1940, and February, 1943, by 2*s.* 6*d.* and 10*s.* a standard gallon respectively. The duty on importations of beer was increased in August, 1940, March, 1941 and February, 1943, by 2*d.*, 11*d.* and 1*s.* 11*d.* a standard gallon.

5. *Taxation.*—In the tax year ended 30th June, 1942, the method of assessing Income Tax was altered and based on the Union Act. In the same year provision was made for the imposition of a duty at the rate of 13*s.* 4*d.* in the £ on excess profits derived from trade in the Territory. The following year the tax was raised to 15*s.* in the £. The revenue from this source during the first two years of its inception has totalled £76,783. A Personal and Savings Fund Levy was introduced in 1942 and collections therefrom have amounted to £3,885. A further new head of revenue introduced in that year was the Trade Profits Special Levy which has since yielded £1,945.

From the 1st July, 1942, the Poll Tax payable by European male persons resident in the Territory and over the age of 20 years was increased from £2 to £3.

6. *Wool Duty.*—From and including November, 1942, the duty on wool and mohair exported from the Territory was raised from ½*d.* to ¾*d.* per lb. At the same time the sale of sheep-dosing coupons ceased.

7. *War Levy.*—Since its inception in February, 1943, the collections under this head at the 30th April, 1944, amounted to £69,031.

8. *War Fund Contributions.*—

Loan from Basutoland Government free of Interest (including War Levies—Loan, free of interest £25,000)	£180,000
Private voluntary contributions to War Charities	£115,324
Private voluntary loans—free of interest	£2,175

9. *Colonial Development Fund.*—In July, 1941, the loan amounting to £48,695 granted under Serial No. 409 for the purpose of financing the control of soil erosion was repaid to the Colonial Development Fund from surplus balances.

In May, 1943, application was made to the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund for a free grant for the purposes of the training of African Health Assistants in Basutoland. Of the approved sum of £10,208 under Scheme No. D.257, provision has been made in the current year's estimates for expenditure amounting to £5,814 on quarters and equipment as well as salaries and wages of the training staff. In January, 1944, a second application was made to the Fund for the appointment of a Medical Officer of Health for a period of five years. A free grant of £5,380 was approved for this purpose. No loans have been made from the Fund to Basutoland during the period.

10. *Cost of Living Allowances.*—From and including 1st January, 1943, a cost of living allowance to Government employees of both races was introduced at rates 4 per cent. lower than those payable in the Union. From 1st February, 1944, the rates were increased to conform with those payable by the Union Government. In Basutoland, as in the High Commission Territories generally, the concession of cost of living allowances has been confined to the lower ranges of salary. From 1st February, 1944, the " ceiling " was raised to £875.

Bechuanaland Protectorate.

11. A statement of the financial activities of the Bechuanaland Protectorate during the period under review is attached (*Annexure III*). Totals of revenue and expenditure and of War Fund and War Levy yields are included, as are lists of Colonial Development and Welfare grants and of financial and taxation measures.

It will be seen that revenue increased from £268,000 in 1941-42, to £351,000 in 1943-44, while expenditure has also gone up from £250,000 to £290,000. On 31st March, 1944, the balance of assets over liabilities was estimated at about £160,000.

12. The remarks in the section dealing with Basutoland in regard to the grant of cost of living allowances apply also to the other two Territories.

13. On 31st March, 1941, there was a surplus balance in the Bechuanaland Protectorate Treasury of £33,169 but this result was in part due to an Imperial grant-in-aid of £15,000.

On the 31st March, 1942, the surplus balance had risen to £51,780 without any grant-in-aid.

On the 31st March, 1943, the excess of assets over liabilities was £99,885, no grant-in-aid having been received.

For the year 1943-44 no grant-in-aid was received, and on 31st March, 1944, the balance was estimated at £160,000.

The estimates for 1944-45 budget for a balance of £167,039 without the help of any grant-in-aid.

These favourable results are due largely to increased revenue from the Rhodesia Railways (which must be regarded as in the nature of windfalls), and it cannot therefore be assumed that in normal years revenue will suffice to meet necessary expenditure or that the Territory will be permanently freed from the necessity for a grant-in-aid.

Accumulated balances together with the financing of important developments by means of Colonial Development and Welfare grants will at least postpone that necessity for some years.

Swaziland.

14. In Swaziland also it has been possible since the war began to balance the budget with decreasing grants-in-aid, and during the years 1942-43 and 1943-44 without any grant-in-aid. This result was due in a large measure to the revenue derived, directly and indirectly, from the successful working of the new Havelock Asbestos Mine.

It was considered necessary to make provision in the Estimates for 1943-44 for a grant-in-aid of £10,000 although it did not prove necessary to draw upon this sum. For 1944-45 provision of £10,000 is again made in the Estimates, and it is clear that even with the assistance from Colonial Development and Welfare Funds for development schemes it will not be possible, in the absence of some at present unforeseen source of revenue, to carry on the administration without annual grants-in-aid from Imperial funds, though it may be hoped of much smaller amounts than in pre-war times.

15. A statement giving financial statistics for the period in question is attached (*Annexure IV*).

PART III. ECONOMIC POSITION.

Basutoland.

1. *Crop Production.*—The following are the figures of crop production for 1941, 1942 and 1943. The figures for 1944 will not be available until August as it is most difficult to make an estimate until harvesting has been completed.

Crop Estimate in Bags of 200 lb.

Cereal	1941	1942	1943
Maize	1,005,268	527,634	720,000
Sorghum	274,156	164,993	324,000
Wheat	394,688	182,187	360,000
Peas and Beans	73,593	36,796	56,000

2. *Imports and Exports.*—Imports and Exports statistics are on record elsewhere. The subject does not call for special mention in this memorandum.

3. *Anti-Soil Erosion Work.*—Anti-Soil Erosion work has been proceeded with as expeditiously as war conditions would allow. Much work has been carried out and good results are already most noticeable.

The following figures are given:—

Area terraced acres (since 1941)	52,485 acres.
Length of terraces constructed	5,389,844 yards.
Number of dams constructed	54.
Number of trees planted in connection with soil erosion works ..	250,102.

4. *Grass Strips.*—In the mountain areas, where heavy contour works cannot be constructed, the laying down of grass strips on the contour was started during 1942. Already 17,155 acres have been protected in this way.

5. *Dams.*—Fifty-four of the total of one hundred and thirty-seven dams constructed since 1937 are major dams and alone conserve 127,394,000 gallons.

The present policy is to construct as many small dams, with a capacity of a quarter million gallons, as possible, rather than a few of much greater capacity. These small dams supply drinking water for stock and help to eliminate erosion caused by tramping and by stock paths to distant water supplies.

The costs of all heavy anti-erosion works completed during 1943 was 10.3/- per acre, including overheads and depreciation.

6. *Tree Planting.*—Great strides have been made in tree planting during the period under review. Major Miller, Forest Officer, Bechuanaland, visited Basutoland to report on future prospects of afforestation in this territory. In addition to the 250,102 trees mentioned under Anti-Soil Erosion a further 500,000 have been planted by the Government in enclosures of very badly-eroded land and in actual dongas. Further, the new Village Tree Planting Scheme by natives has been most successful. This scheme was started in November, 1942, with the idea of producing more wood for hut building and also as an anti-erosion measure, but chiefly to produce fuel so that there will be no need to burn all the manure, which is so badly needed to increase the fertility of the worn-out lands.

Four tree nurseries have been started, one at Mafeteng, Maseru, Leribe and Qacha's Nek respectively. Up to the end of March, 1944, 11,682,567 trees have been planted, chiefly White Poplar and Silver Wattle. The Poplar suckers were obtained from existing groves and the Wattles from seed sown *in situ*. This is a remarkable achievement.

7. *New Agricultural Developments.*—Much time and propaganda have been used to induce the Basuto to increase food production, especially during wartime. This continued propaganda has met with considerable success, e.g., the present mountain wheat crop is one of the largest ever harvested. The planting of peas has been greatly increased and a larger crop produced than ever before. A larger acreage than heretofore of maize and kaffir corn has been planted in the lowlands. The growing of soya beans has been encouraged, and experimental work on the introduction of pyrethrum, for a mountain cash crop, is being undertaken. Vegetable production is increasing and agricultural progress has been remarkable in all directions.

8. *Soil Fertility.* Much thought has been given to the serious question of maintenance of soil fertility, rotation of crops and better methods of cultivation. A number of plans have been started to remedy the present bad state of affairs. Among these remedies may be mentioned:—

(1) The Village Tree Planting Scheme which will supply fuel and release manure for the land, where it belongs.

(2) Small holdings have been started on which a proper system of farming can be demonstrated together with correct land management.

(3) Plots for agricultural experimental work at Government Schools are being set aside, where rotation of crops and the proper management of the land to maintain fertility can be demonstrated to the pupils.

(4) The periodic resting of over-eaten grazing areas has been successfully enforced.

9. *Increased Food Production.*—The staff of Agricultural Demonstrators has been increased, and Assistant Agricultural Demonstrators have been employed to assist in this campaign. Several schemes have been inaugurated to increase food production, and posters have been distributed throughout the country pointing out the seriousness of the present food position.

Chiefs have been asked to issue to the people detailed orders regarding a general agricultural scheme for the improvement of the land and general agriculture.

Bechuanaland Protectorate.

10. The Resident Commissioner reports as follows:—

(1) *Production.*—The African population of the Territory has been encouraged to increase food production and by the ploughing of additional lands the acreage under cultivation has been greatly increased. A Tribal Agricultural Production Committee has been formed with a view to stimulating food production.

(2) *Imports and Exports.*—The latest figures showing imports and exports are contained in the Blue Book for 1942/43.

(3) *Dams.*—Great progress has been made at the Mogobane and Bathoen irrigation schemes and the first crops have been reaped. Large quantities of vegetables are being successfully grown at the Bathoen dam and are being fed to the African school children in connexion with the nutrition experiment which is being carried out under a Colonial Development and Welfare Fund grant.

11. *Tree Planting.*—

(1) Experimental tree planting to provide fuel and hut building material has been continued and as a result information is being acquired regarding the soil types, species and planting and nursery technique which can be counted on to give satisfactory results.

(2) One plantation has been started for the production of commercial timber—a poplar plantation on a very promising site sufficiently close to the railway.

(3) An experiment to increase the yield of the savanna woodland by planting up blank spaces with fast-growing exotics is beginning to show that the method employed will go far towards meeting the requirements of the African population.

(4) Plantings of indigenous species, such as Tomboti (*Spirostachys africana*), Wild Olive (*Olea africana*) and several other trees have been put down.

(5) During 1943, the Pharing Forest Nursery issued 6,634 transplants for experimental and amenity planting.

(6) Negotiations for the grant of a timber concession in the Chobe District have quite recently been completed, which will not only result in a considerable revenue but will provide funds for assisted regeneration of the cut-over and damaged "Rhodesian Teak" forests.

(7) But the chief move towards forest and general land management has been the inauguration of a scheme for the training of African Forest Rangers who are being sent to a course in Southern Rhodesia. These men, it is hoped, will return able, not only to carry out tree-planting operations, but to teach their fellow Africans the conservative use of their own woodland and the benefits of protection.

Swaziland.

12. Reference has already been made under the preceding section to the successful working of the Havelock Asbestos Mine which has contributed much to the prosperity of Swaziland, although the fact that it is situated near the Transvaal border and that its communications by a good road and by overhead rail are with the Transvaal tend to minimize its influence on the general development of the Territory.

13. A list of the Colonial Development and Welfare Schemes affecting Swaziland, approved since May, 1941, is attached (*Annexure V*). Notes regarding a few of these schemes are given in the following paragraphs.

14. Reference has already been made to the Land Settlement Scheme (Part I, paragraph 18) which is one of great importance both politically and from the aspect of social welfare.

15. Another important project deserving of mention is the Geological Survey. A Colonial Development and Welfare grant of £37,200 was made in 1941 for a preliminary survey. The results obtained are such as fully to justify the continuation of the scheme, and an application for funds to continue the survey for a further period of five years is about to be made. Asbestos, gold, tin, iron, tantalum, corundum, calcite, coal and lime are among the minerals now known to be present. When time permits it is hoped to investigate also the question of underground water supplies, the development of which may well prove of much importance to the inhabitants, both European and native.

16. The assistance given under the Scheme for the erection and equipment of Cream Depots in Native areas is in connexion with the development of a dairying industry. Progress has been rendered possible by the establishment of a Creamery at Bremersdorp, by means of assistance previously obtained from Colonial Development Funds. It is of great importance for the welfare and advancement of the natives that they should learn to appreciate the economic value of cattle and not continue to look on the possession of large herds merely as an asset indicating social

position. The returns in money obtained from butterfat collected at these depots throughout native areas, apart from increasing the purchasing power of the natives, must have a strong educative effect and should lead to the elimination of scrub cattle and the selection of beasts that will provide larger and better supplies of milk.

17. Another important development (not requiring assistance from Colonial Development Funds) has been the establishment of auctions for the sale of cattle in the various districts. Here, too, the prices realized for good beasts must soon tend to concentration on quality rather than quantity, and so contribute to a solution of the serious problem of over-stocking which affects Swaziland, as it does almost every native area in Africa where cattle can live.

18. Another scheme for the better distribution of cattle and the consequent reduction of erosion due to over-grazing and trekking over long distances is that for the development of water supplies. Dams have already been constructed at many places, the scheme D.194 mentioned in Annexure V being in continuation of a previous Colonial Development Scheme.

19. Although not strictly coming under the heading of "Economic" it is convenient to refer at this stage to two other of the projects for which Development funds have been obtained, namely, the new Leper Settlement and Native Trades School.

20. The lepers of Swaziland have long been kept in an encampment which has been notoriously unsatisfactory and a source of anxiety and regret to all responsible for the administration of Swaziland. There have, however, hitherto, been no funds for the maintenance of the lepers in a manner compatible with modern ideas. Now that funds have been obtained for the construction of a proper settlement, which will be supervised by an officer of the British Empire Leprosy Relief Association with previous African experience, it is hoped that this long standing disgrace to the British Administration will at last be removed.

21. The Native Trades School is being founded with a view to giving selected young men an education which will fit them for and afford them a living in their own country, and assist in the development of the country on modern lines. At present the only alternatives for the natives are agriculture (which with present methods will not support the population) or going out to work on the gold mines on the Rand or the coal mines of Natal or the Transvaal. Anything that will help to make the natives of Swaziland less dependent on this necessity to find work and wages outside of the Territory is obviously to be encouraged. But by comparison the Swazi natives are still educationally backward and much remains to be done in this matter.

22. Mention has been made of the inefficient methods of native agriculture in Swaziland. In the list of schemes under consideration, one is for the establishment of courses of Agricultural Training for Native Teachers. This is with a view to improving the standards of agriculture throughout the Territory. Other projects for mass education, for an increase in agricultural demonstrators, and for agricultural and veterinary measures generally are under consideration. Among the latter the eradication of East Coast Fever is a matter of great importance not only locally but also as a condition of finding a market in the Union for Swaziland cattle.

23. Although it would appear more appropriately under the heading of Public Health, reference may conveniently be made here to the Malarial Survey of Swaziland, now being begun with the aid of Colonial Development and Welfare Funds.

In Swaziland one of the most prevalent and serious diseases affecting the general health of the native population is malaria, especially at the lower altitudes. A grant of £12,000 has recently been obtained from Colonial Development and Welfare Funds to enable a Malarial Survey to be undertaken.

As a result of this Survey it may be expected that measures of a permanent nature, involving considerable recurrent expenditure, will have to be undertaken if the many consequences of this disease are to be remedied.

24. Finally, mention should be made of a scheme of food production in Swaziland which has given progressively good results during the past three years and holds out good prospects for the coming year. The credit for the success of this scheme is shared by the officers of the Agricultural Department, and by those members of the general public, European and Native, who have lent their lands and implements and given assistance generally.

Part IV. Education.

Native Education.

1. The position generally in the Territories is set out in the annual reports, copies of which have been sent to the Dominions Office. Some of the more important aspects are referred to below.

2. *BASUTOLAND.*—Generally speaking native education in Basutoland is more widespread and has reached a more advanced stage than in the other territories and most parts of the Union. This is chiefly due to the long time during which Missions have been operating in Basutoland and to the Government Intermediate, High and Technical schools which are efficient and progressive "higher tops". The question of the basis of allocation of grants from the Education Fund between the rival Missions has recently given rise to a considerable amount of controversy, so much so that it is proposed that a Commission should be appointed at an early date to investigate the whole subject. Pending the appointment of this Commission, it would be unprofitable to attempt any general review of the subject. Technical education in skilled crafts at the Lerotholi Technical School is turning out excellent native artisans.

3. *THE BECHUANALAND PROTECTORATE.*—An application has been made and has now been approved for a grant of £24,618 under the Colonial Development and Welfare Act for the development of native education in the Bechuanaland Protectorate. These funds are urgently required for the establishment of more schools and the engagement of more and better qualified

teachers. It is necessary to raise the level of existing salary scales as well as to provide for additional staff. Provision is also made for teacher training centres and for bursaries to enable natives of the Bechuanaland Protectorate to attend courses in the Union. The appointments of a Lady Inspector of Domestic Science and an Agricultural Education Officer are also included.

4. *SWAZILAND.*—Mission work and Government education have long been more backward than in the other two Territories. A Colonial Development and Welfare grant of £26,800 for native education in Swaziland was made in 1942. The Advisory Committee on Education in the Colonies did not consider that the proposals went far enough, and a memorandum in respect of a further grant of £90,000 has been submitted by the Resident Commissioner, Swaziland. The objects are similar to those described above in the case of the Bechuanaland Protectorate. The forwarding of this application to the Secretary of State has been postponed in the hope that the Swazi National Schools may be brought within its orbit. The delay is due to the difficulty of coming to a more satisfactory arrangement with the Paramount Chief in regard to the policy and management of these schools, which at present are most unsatisfactory.

Reference has been made in paragraph 21 of Part III to a Colonial Development and Welfare grant of £50,000 obtained for the establishment of a Trades School for Natives in Swaziland. The intention is to give instruction for the present in building, carpentry, and smithy work only.

European Education.

5. *BASUTOLAND.*—In Basutoland there are a few small schools which provide elementary education for European children. For further education children must go to the Union schools.

6. *BECHUANALAND PROTECTORATE.*—In the Bechuanaland Protectorate also the problems of European education are difficult owing to the fact that the Europeans who number about 2,000 live in widely scattered settlements, with populations ranging from 500 downwards. The syllabus of the Transvaal Education Department is generally followed, save in the northern part of the Protectorate bordering on Southern Rhodesia. The standards obtained compare favourably with those reached by pupils in similar schools in the Union.

Only primary education can be undertaken in the Protectorate, and assistance is given by means of bursaries to enable children to attend schools in the Union or Southern Rhodesia for secondary education of either a vocational or academic nature. Arrangements are also made for children in isolated homes to receive tuition by correspondence.

A memorandum on the post-war education of European children in the Protectorate is at present under consideration by the Colonial Advisory Committee on Education.

7. *SWAZILAND.*—A grant of £33,410 from Colonial Development and Welfare Funds has been approved for a five-year scheme for the extension of European education in Swaziland. The very poor European population living in the Southern parts of Swaziland provides a serious problem for the Administration in many respects. If conditions of living are to be improved it is essential that the children, many of whom come from "poor white" families, should be given opportunities to qualify them for a fuller life. The scheme provides for centralization of secondary education at one school where instruction in farming methods will form a prominent part of the educational course.

8. Notes giving further particulars of educational matters in Basutoland and Swaziland are attached (*Annexures VI and VII*).

Part V. Public Health.

1. *GENERAL.*—A very important step towards the improvement of the medical and health services of the three Territories has been the appointment of Sir Walter Johnson, C.M.G., as Director of Medical Services, for the three Territories. Sir Walter was at one time Director of Medical Services for Nigeria, and for some years past has been in charge of the Basutoland Leper Settlement. He has therefore wide experience of Colonial Medical Administration as well as of the particular problems of the three Territories, in regard to which he has been consulted on many occasions previous to his appointment.

2. Medical Administration in the High Commission Territories, as in many other places, has in the past been confined too much to purely curative services, and little has been done to improve conditions so as to eliminate the causes of ill health. It is clear that more attention must be paid to this aspect forthwith.

3. Several steps have recently been taken to this end. Thus authority has been obtained for the appointment of a Medical Officer of Health who will be paid from funds provided by a Colonial Development and Welfare grant. (*See* Part II, paragraph 9.) For the present this officer will have duties in all three Territories, and his first responsibility will be to examine and report on the present position. Later on it may well prove necessary to appoint separate Medical Officers of Health for all three Territories.

4. *TRAINING OF NATIVE MEDICAL STAFF.*—As regards hospital treatment and health measures generally one of the greatest difficulties in the Territories has been and is the absence of an adequate supply of properly trained native assistants, male and female.

A Colonial Development and Welfare grant of £10,208 was made in 1943 for the training of African Health Assistants in Basutoland. (Part II, paragraph 9).

Meantime arrangements already in existence in all three Territories for the training of African nurses are being continued.

5. As a result of Sir Walter Johnson's appointment many matters calling for attention such as the need for improved and extended hospital accommodation with ancillary dependent clinics; for better water supplies; better housing arrangements, etc., have now been brought to notice. On many of these, action must be postponed until the war is over and more staff and funds become available.

6. The problems of and facts regarding malnutrition of school children in the Bechuanaland Protectorate are now under special scientific test and examination.

7. Some details of Public Health work in Basutoland and the Bechuanaland Protectorate are given in Annexures VIII and IX. References to the Malarial Survey and Leper Settlement Schemes in Swaziland will be found in Part III, paragraphs 20 and 23.

Part VI. War Effort.

1. The High Commission Territories have made what has proved to be a very valuable contribution to the war effort by the sending of recruits to the African Auxiliary Pioneer Corps. The numbers of attested recruits for the various Territories are approximately: Basutoland 21,400, Bechuanaland Protectorate 10,000, Swaziland 3,800. In addition about 2,500 natives from the High Commission Territories enlisted in the Union Native Military Corps. These men have served and are serving in North Africa, Palestine, Sicily and Italy, and have won much praise for their efficiency as labour units and their individual skill and adaptability. From Basutoland, 40 European officials and 147 non-officials joined the Pioneer Corps.

2. Substantial contributions have been made since the war began to Imperial War Funds by residents of all three Territories. Apart from the Government grant of £100,000 already referred to, over £100,000 has been subscribed by residents of Basutoland for Imperial War Funds and various War Charities.

Details of gifts or free loans from the Bechuanaland Protectorate during the period in question are shown in Annexure III.

A statement in regard to Swaziland's War Effort will be found in Annexure X.

3. Reference has already been made to the measures for increased food production in the Territories, an indirect but important contribution to the war effort.

Part VII. Miscellaneous.

1. Many other problems affecting the welfare of the Territories are under active consideration, as for example the housing of Native Government servants, better housing of natives near European settlements, water supplies, etc., apart from the proposed expansion of the activities of the Agricultural and Veterinary Departments, and other Departments.

2. Marked progress has been made in the three High Commission Territories by means of co-operation of Chiefs and people with the Agricultural Departments in connexion with wartime food production schemes. These projects which originated as temporary arrangements in connexion with the war effort should produce lasting benefits owing to the lessons which have been learned regarding crop production and rotation, storage of grain, etc.

3. The problem of soil erosion is of sufficient importance to call for special mention. Much work has been done in Basutoland during the last ten years to prevent erosion and restore denuded lands. Mr. R. W. Thornton, C.B.E., Agricultural Adviser to the High Commissioner, took a prominent part in devising and putting into effect anti-erosion measures. Some account of them was given in his address in 1942 to the South African Society of Civil Engineers, subsequently published as a reprint from the Minutes of the Society. I would specially mention, too, the fine work of Mr. Collet, M.B.E., on anti-soil erosion works in Basutoland.

4. The problem of soil erosion, though not so acute in the other Territories as in Basutoland, is nevertheless of considerable importance in Swaziland, in connexion with tin mining operations and as a result of unsuitable methods of agriculture and lack of pasture control. Measures to deal with erosion are being taken where possible, and much propaganda has already been undertaken, by demonstration and otherwise, to secure contour ploughing, to spread the practice of planting Napier grass along the contours, to prevent the development of gulleys through the action of flood water on cattle tracks, etc. The subject is continually under review and such steps are being taken as resources of staff and money permit.

ANNEXURE I

Bechuanaland Protectorate

Important Proclamations

Proclamation No. 56 of 1941.	Bechuanaland Protectorate Native Labour Proclamation, 1941—recruitment and contracts of employment of Native workers.
Proclamation No. 67 of 1941.	Control of Livestock Industry Proclamation, 1941.
Proclamation No. 72 of 1941.	Shop Hours Proclamation, 1941.
Proclamation No. 9 of 1942.	Native Locations Proclamation, 1942—improved conditions of residence in Native locations outside Native Reserves.
Proclamation No. 13 of 1942.	General Interpretation Proclamation, 1942—provision for construction of laws, etc.
Proclamation No. 16 of 1942.	Trade Unions and Trade Disputes Proclamation, 1942—registration and regulation of Trade Unions and orderly settlement of Trade Disputes.
Proclamation No. 47 of 1942.	Personal and Savings Fund Levy.
Proclamation No. 14 of 1943.	Property Sales Restriction Proclamation, 1943—control of sales of immovable property.
Proclamation No. 32 of 1943.	Native Administration Proclamation, 1943—designation, recognition and removal of Sub-Chiefs and Headmen and the constitution and appointment of Native Authorities and the definition of their powers and functions.
Proclamation No. 33 of 1943.	Native Courts Proclamation, 1943—recognition, constitution, powers and jurisdiction of Native Courts and administration of justice generally in cases recognizable by Native Courts.

ANNEXURE II

Swaziland

List of More Important Proclamations Promulgated since May, 1941

1941

No. 60. Swaziland Income Tax Proclamation, 1941.

1942

No. 15. Death Duties Proclamation, 1942.
No. 29. Wool Packing and Marking Proclamation, 1942.
No. 31. Trade Unions and Trade Disputes Proclamation, 1942.
No. 49. Personal and Savings Fund Levy Proclamation, 1942.

1943

No. 6. Native Labour (Written Contracts) Proclamation, 1943.
No. 31. Public Education Proclamation, 1943.

1944

No. 2. Nursing Sisters (Retiring Allowances) Proclamation.

ANNEXURE III

Financial Activities of the Bechuanaland Protectorate during Lord Harlech's Term of Office as High Commissioner

	Revenue.	*Expenditure.*
1941/1942	268,024	249,414
1942/1943	308,403	260,298
1943/1944	351,100	290,000

Colonial Development and Welfare Schemes

In May, 1941, when Lord Harlech assumed office the following Colonial Development and Welfare Fund Schemes had already started and were in progress and the amounts shown under the heading of " Receipts " opposite each respective scheme represents the amount of the final issues required to complete each scheme :—

		Total of Grant.	Receipts.
		£	£
No. 303.	Mutton Improvement	2,000	50
No. 304.	Cattle Improvement	12,450	1,690
No. 455.	Ngamiland Waterways	8,065	65
No. 533.	Ngamiland Waterways	3,500	790
No. 466.	Water Development	114,000	1,585
No. 563.	Dipping Tanks	2,166	156
No. 552.	Sleeping Sickness	13,050	4,530
No. D.14.	Water Investigation	2,770	2,293

Since May, 1941, the following schemes have been approved :—

		£
No. D.115.	Water Investigation	2,770
No. D.168.	Survey of Water Resources	23,000
No. D.261.	Tsetse Fly Survey	90,000
No. D.309.	Development of African Agriculture	13,000
No. D.317.	Development of Spineless Cactus	2,500
	Anti-Erosion Measures	5,386
	Deep Water Reservoirs	500
	Development of Local Industries	200
	Basin Irrigation Experiment	1,600
No. D.318.	Nutrition Experiment, Kanye	7,923

In addition to the foregoing the following applications have been submitted for consideration :

	£
Development of Education	24,618
Salary and Allowances : Director of Agriculture and Lady Clerk	8,879
Surveyors	22,332
Mechanical Staff (immediate)	8,691
Transport and Mechanical Staff (5 years scheme) ..	56,356
Buildings	10,585
Stock Dams, Sand River and Well Points	64,205
Maternity Hospital and Infant Clinic, Serowe	57,611

New Legislation

The following is a list of the more important laws of a financial or taxation nature which have been enacted since May, 1941 :—

Death Duties Proclamation No. 58 of 1941.
Personal and Savings Fund Levy Proclamation No. 47 of 1942.
Cattle Export War Tax Proclamation No. 33 of 1943.
Property Sales Restriction Proclamation No. 14 of 1943.

At present legislation to provide for the imposition of an Excess Profits Duty is under consideration.

War Fund

Collections on behalf of the Bechuanaland Protectorate War Fund from Europeans and non-Africans for the period May, 1941, to March, 1944, was £15,600 of which £1,860 represented gifts to the Government of the United Kingdom.

With the introduction of the War Levy in April, 1941, Africans ceased to contribute directly to the Bechuanaland Protectorate War Fund.

The following is a list of loans, free of interest, which have been made to the Government of the United Kingdom since May, 1941 :—

	£
Cattle Export Levy Fund	25,000
Native Administrations	10,972
Various individuals	1,586
Total	£37,558

War Levy

For the period 1st April, 1941, to 31st March, 1944, the following annual collection of War Levy were made, with the amounts which were contributed to Govegnment Revenue in brackets opposite each year :—

		£		£
1941/1942	.. ..	18,030	..	(4,702)
1942/1943	.. ..	20,688	..	(5,179)
1943/1944	.. ..	19,422	..	(7,071)
	Total ..	£58,140	..	(£16,952)

ANNEXURE IV

SWAZILAND

Financial Statistics

Year.	Actual Revenue and Expenditure (including Grant-in-aid).		Colonial Development and Welfare Fund.		Total Receipts and Expenditure (including C.D.F.).		Actual Grant-in-aid.	Assets and Liabilities at end of Financial Year.	
	Revenue.	Expenditure.	Receipts.	Expenditure.	Receipts.	Expenditure.		Assets exceeded liabilities by	Liabilities exceeded by
	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£	£
1940–1941 ..	169,570	164,248	19,035	14,304	188,605	178,552	52,000		7,224
1941–1942 ..	189,115	162,174	5,764	3,772	174,880	165,946	12,000	1,709	
1942–1943 ..	211,335	175,130	5,220	4,783	216,555	179,883	Nil	38,371	
	Revised Estimates.						*Revised Estimates.*	*Estimated.*	
1943–1944 ..	190,164	216,155	18,480	18,480	208,644	234,635	Nil	15,111	
	Estimated.						*Estimated.*	*Estimated.*	
1944–1945 ..	210,180	220,922	74,314	74,314	284,494	295,236	10,000	4,000	

ANNEXURE V

SWAZILAND

COLONIAL DEVELOPMENT AND WELFARE SCHEMES APPROVED SINCE MAY, 1941

Serial No.	Description of Scheme.	Free Capital Grant.	Loan.
		£	£
D.73	Geological Survey	3,300	—
D.149	Development of Native Education in Swaziland	26,800	—
D.152	Experimental Farm (continuation for further 5 years)	3,500	—
D.178	Development of European Education in Swaziland	33,410	—
D.194	Development of Water Supplies in Native Areas	5,160	—
D.228	Erection and Equipment of Cream Depôts	—	2,000
D.258	Malarial Survey of Swaziland	12,000	—
D.302	Erection and Equipment of Havelock Mine School	1,350	—
D.189	Land Settlement	190,000	—
D.290	Leper Settlement	27,300	—
D.314	Native Trades School	50,000	—

Schemes under Consideration

Supplementary to D.149. Development of Native Education in Swaziland.

Establishment of Courses of Agricultural Training for Native Teachers.

Geological Survey (Extension).

ANNEXURE VI

DEVELOPMENTS IN EDUCATION IN BASUTOLAND BETWEEN 1941 AND 1943

1. Developments in education would have been more remarkable if unforeseen difficulties had not arisen through the intransigence of one of the Missions. It would have been possible to report that the grants-in-aid, which absorb about 85 per cent. of the revenue of the Basutoland Education Fund, were being employed far more effectively for the benefit of the whole country, because the aided schools would have been better selected and more sensibly distributed, and because the allocation of the money would have been related in some measure to the capacity of the teachers paid by it. However, these necessary improvements had to be put on one side to await the recommendations of the coming Commission.

2. It may be pointed out that the decision to appoint a Commission is fraught with great possibilities in the future, not only for Basutoland but also for other territories in Africa which are at a less advanced stage educationally and which may be expected to benefit very considerably from the recommendations of a strong Commission, since it will report on problems which have developed to the point of difficulty in Basutoland but which are already beginning to loom up elsewhere.

School Enrolment and Attendance

3. (*a*) These have not varied very much, suggesting that enrolment—which shows a higher percentage of the school-going population than is found elsewhere in Africa—is about as high as can be expected under the prevailing voluntary system and with a Department so lightly staffed. The figures are for the most part actually somewhat lower for 1943 than for 1941. This is almost entirely due to the considerable number of older boys recruited for the African Auxiliary Pioneer Corps, which not only reduced the number of boy scholars, but checked the normal increase in the number of girls, many of whom left school to relieve the resulting short-handedness at their homes.

(*b*) In spite of this and in spite also of unusually small pass lists in Standard III in 1942, the numbers in the Intermediate Schools (Standards IV, V and VI) have increased, as have also the number of passes in the Government's Standard VI examination and the enrolment in post-primary, *i.e.*, Secondary and Vocational classes. These facts suggest both a trend in the direction of staying longer at school and also an improvement in the efficiency of the Intermediate Schools.

(c) The relative figures for all schools are :—

	1941		1943
Elementary Vernacular School			
Roll	76,987	..	75,448
Attendance	58,436	..	55,631
Intermediate Schools			
Roll	3,641	..	3,774
Attendance	3,369	..	3,397
Standard VI Examination			
Entered	875	..	943
Passed	552	..	584
Post-Primary			
Secondary Enrolment	253	..	312
Vocational Enrolment	505	..	562
Junior Certificate Examination			
Entered	51	..	65
Passed	30	..	52
Matriculation			
Entered	2	..	9
Passed	1	..	4
Post Matriculation Students (in Union)	16	..	18
University Degree obtained	1	..	3
Basutoland High School			
Boys	52	..	125
Girls	11	..	30

4. *Grants-in-aid to Missions.*—In 1941, £52,700. In 1943, £58,300.

5. *Scholarships.*—(a) *Medical.*—These have been introduced in the period under review and will provide in due course for five students at the medical school on the Witwatersrand at a total cost of £1,125 per annum. In addition two new bursaries for the pre-medical year at Fort Hare have been given, costing £90 per annum.

(b) *Agricultural.*—Five new bursaries to Fort Cox at £15 each for two years (*i.e.*, a total of £150 per annum) have been added.

(c) The number of bursaries at other stages have also been increased. 36 bursaries on the Standard VI examination are now to be 60; 12 Post-Junior Certificate awards are to be 24; the number of High School bursaries has risen from 6 to 12; the post-matriculation awards, mainly to Fort Hare, have also been doubled.

(d) This means that whereas in 1941 an amount of £910 was allocated for bursaries, the requirement for the present programme when in full action will be £3,259.

6. Considerable developments have been set on foot with the object of securing a type of elementary education which will be better suited to the real needs of the people and carry a very desirable rural emphasis.

(a) A new Basutoland Primary Teachers' Course has now been introduced into the Training Colleges which is calculated to produce more suitable teachers with a more intelligent understanding of the needs of the countryside.

(b) Practical assistance has been provided in the form of grants of £1,000 and £300 respectively for the provision of tools and of sewing materials in the Mission Schools.

(c) It has also been decided to appoint two Agricultural Education Officers as soon as they can be secured.

7. The staff of the Department has been increased :—

(a) An Organizer of Home Industries has been appointed.

(b) The African inspectoral staff has been increased by the addition of two more Supervisors of Schools.

(c) An additional African clerk has been employed in the Education Office.

8. An effective programme of Education has been set on foot for the African Auxiliary Pioneer Corps, with Majors Pickett and Ackroyd in charge.

9. The Basutoland High School is rapidly passing out of its infancy into real strength. New buildings comprise a second hostel for boys, a hostel for girls, Physical Science and Domestic Science laboratories and four classrooms.

10. If one looks below the surface perhaps the most significant development of all is in the very considerable increase in the proportion of qualified to unqualified teachers. The percentage figure of the former has been more than doubled, from about 18 per cent. to about 40 per cent. This improvement has shown itself in the work of the schools and in the much improved results in, for instance, the Standard III examination. It will become more marked as the years go on.

ANNEXURE VII

SWAZILAND

(In 1941 the enrolment and attendance figures supplied were in many cases merely an estimate.)

CLASS OF INSTITUTION

	Government-Aided and Maintained Schools.				Private Unaided Schools.			
	1941	1942	1943		1941	1942	1943	
Secondary: Boys	—	18	14		—	—	1	
Girls	—	28	14		—	—	7	
Primary: Boys	2,270	1,942	2,408		1,131	844	853	
Girls	3,361	3,138	3,628		1,809	1,406	1,482	
TOTAL ..	5,631	5,126	6,064		2,940	2,250	2,343	

	Swazi National Schools.			Private Dominican Convent.		
	1941	1942	1943	1941	1942	1943
Secondary: Boys	33	29	30	1	1	1
Girls	8	11	13	3	7	5
Primary: Boys	170	163	204	16	12	15
Girls	171	161	176	16	14	12
TOTAL ..	382	364	423	36	34	33

EUROPEANS

CLASS OF INSTITUTION

	Government.			Government-Aided St. Marks.		
	1941	1942	1943	1941	1942	1943
Secondary: Boys	6	8	11	17	21	27
Girls	3	7	10	10	10	7
Primary: Boys	142	143	142	35	32	39
Girls	117	136	138	36	33	25
TOTAL ..	268	294	301	98	96	98

ANNEXURE VIII

Basutoland

The following is a brief summary of Public Health activities in the period under review :—

(*a*) Establishment in 1943 of a temporary Mental Asylum at Mohale's Hoek with accommodation for 38 dangerous or destructive lunatics.

(*b*) Construction in 1944 of a temporary hospital at Maseru for treatment of Basuto soldiers discharged from the African Auxiliary Pioneer Corps—60 beds. This should be ready to function towards end of June.

(*c*) In the period July, 1941, to July, 1943, over 20,000 Basuto recruits for the army—African Auxiliary Pioneer Corps—were medically examined by Government Medical Officers.

(*d*) Medical Boards connected with Military Pensions for Basuto discharged from army are conducted by Government Medical Staff. From July, 1943, over 400 such Medical Boards have been held.

(*e*) Control of Epidemic Diseases :—

Smallpox.—Since November, 1942, a sporadic, widespread and mild epidemic has affected the lowlands of Leribe District, Highlands of Mokhotlong, Qacha's Nek, Maseru and Mohale's Hoek Districts and lowlands of Mohale's Hoek Districts: 655 cases have been reported with 18 deaths; 304,900 vaccinations have been performed.

Plague.—Four outbreaks of Bubonic and Pneumonic types were dealt with. By prompt measures they were localized to the villages where they originated.

(*f*) Government Hospitals and Dispensaries.—In the period 31st December, 1940, to 31st December, 1943, in-patients treated in hospitals have increased from 5,139 to 5,803. Out-patient attendances have increased from 131,030 to 152,228. Attendances at Venereal Disease Clinics have increased from 13,423 to 19,190. These increases have been dealt with despite shortage of medical and nursing staff.

(*g*) Recommendations for expansion of Medical and Health Services have been submitted (G.S. letter No. 2047 of 12th December, 1942). They provide for :—

(1) Erection of a 260-bedded hospital at Maseru which will be a training centre for African Health Assistants and African Nurses.

(2) Erection of new hospitals at Butha Buthe, Teyateyaneng, Qacha's Nek and Mokhotlong and increasing accommodation at existing hospitals with the object of providing one bed for about 800 of the population.

(3) Establishment of 66 Health Centres distributed throughout the territory and to be staffed by male Health assistants and nurse-midwives.

(4) Provision for additional qualified medical, nursing and sanitary staff. This includes the training and employment of African doctors (Basuto). The ultimate aim is to have one doctor to 20,000 of the population and one health centre staffed by a health assistant and nurse-midwife for 10,000 people.

(5) Improving methods of rural sanitation, better control of epidemics and generally raising the standard of public health in the territory.

A considerable amount of preparatory work has already been undertaken such as the preparation of sketch plans for new hospitals, arrangements for training health assistants and nurse-midwives and so forth in order that when approval has been received and funds provided there should be no delay in carrying out proposals.

ANNEXURE IX

Bechuanaland Protectorate

Hospitals and Dispensaries.—The routine work on the curative side has been continued. The figures of out-patient and in-patient attendances are as follows :—

Year.	In-Patients.	Out-Patients.
1941	3,532	139,591
1942	3,615	137,226
1943	3,979	143,798

In August, 1941, a new 20-bed ward was opened at the Lobatsi Hospital to provide accommodation for African Auxiliary Pioneer Corps personnel requiring hospital treatment. The extra bed accommodation has been fully occupied since then and has given much needed extra facilities for civilians sick since the African Auxiliary Pioneer Corps units have moved to the Middle East. The Zambezi Union Mission have erected a new block at the Kanye Medical Mission containing a theatre, small laboratory and two 5-bed wards with overflow accommodation on the verandah.

General Diseases.—There has been no significant change in the incidence of general disease.

Nutrition.—Investigations designed to establish basic nutritional standards for the Bechuana have continued and a large-scale feeding experiment amongst school children at Kanye has been commenced during 1944.

Control of Butchers' Meat.—A small abattoir was opened at Lobatsi during 1944 and regulations governing the slaughter of stock, gazetted. An African pupil Health Inspector who has had elementary instruction in meat inspection is in attendance.

Locations.—A location for Africans resident in the European Township area at Lobatsi has been established. Plots are rented at a nominal monthly charge of 1s., which plot includes the use of a communal water supply. The plot holder builds his own house under the supervision of the local African Health Inspector.

Maternity and Child Welfare.—The London Mission Centre at Serowe continues to do useful work and plans for the building of a central Maternity Hospital at Serowe have been drawn up. The London Mission centre at Maun is on a small scale but is doing useful work. Ante-natal clinics have been commenced at certain of the hospitals and the clinics are well attended. More maternity cases come to hospital each year for confinements.

Communicable Diseases

Trypanosomiasis.—In 1941 there were five cases of sleeping sickness in the Nokanen area of Ngamiland. During 1942 there were 320 cases admitted to Maun hospital with a mortality of 27·2 per cent. In 1943, 92 cases were treated with a mortality of 34·8 per cent. To the end of May, 1944, two fresh cases were reported. Trypanocidal drugs are being issued free for the treatment of sleeping sickness.

Control measures have consisted in clearing and burning a strip along the west bank of the Taoghe River and maintenance gangs are working in this area. Resettlement of the cleared land is being encouraged and these measures have already reduced the fly density in this area to almost nil. A grant of £90,000 has been made from the Colonial Development and Welfare Fund for further measures against the fly which includes the erection of a game fence and work commenced in April, 1944, on this project.

The focus of infection for human trypanosomiasis is obviously in the swamps and it is considered that the key to control of movements of population into the swamps is an adequate production of food locally. If crops fail the families move into the swamps searching for roots, etc., with which to supplement their diet.

Malaria.—Is endemic in the Ngamiland, Chobe and Francistown areas. The phenomenally heavy rains early in 1944 caused epidemic conditions to prevail, and the epidemic spread right through the Kalahari to the southern border of the Territory. Quinine was distributed through the agencies of administrative posts, police posts and traders' stores. Measures to control mosquito breeding at the main centres of population in the Northern Bechuanaland Protectorate were carried out and the Railway Health Authorities co-operated with control along the railway line. Instructions to European Officials and African Staff regarding the prevention of malaria have been issued. The need for adequate protected quarters for African Staff in Ngamiland has been stressed.

Tuberculosis.—The incidence of tuberculosis appears to be rising and is giving concern to district Medical Officers. Two new X-Ray plants have been donated by the Chamber of Mines Deferred Pay Fund to assist in the early diagnosis and treatment of tuberculosis. Four shelters are being built for the accommodation of men of the African Auxiliary Pioneer Corps repatriated from the Middle East suffering from tuberculosis.

Bilharzia.—The incidence in the Bakgatla reserve is high and a fresh source of infection has arisen at the Mogobane Dam. Dr. Alan Mozley has visited the Territory twice by courtesy of the Southern Rhodesian Government to advise on the extent of snail breeding and its control. Treatment campaigns have commenced at Mochudi and Mogobane in 1944, and drugs for the treatment of bilharzia are being issued free of charge. Control measures on a small experimental stage have commenced.

The position at Mogobane is a serious one in view of the irrigation scheme commencing there and more staff is needed urgently for control work.

Smallpox.—There was an outbreak in the Bamangwato Reserve in 1943, which was isolated to one small area. Vaccination of the population of the Reserve was carried out.

Venereal Disease.—The incidence of the disease reported remains about the same level. Arsenical drugs have become more readily available and it has been possible to increase the issue of these drugs so that more adequate courses of treatment can be given.

Training of Africans for Medical Work.—A limited number of African girls have been receiving training at Government and Mission hospitals. A small training centre has been established at Lobatsi where the teaching can be standardized. Candidates are coming forward for training in greater numbers than can be accepted with the limited resources available. Dispensers and male orderlies are also receiving training at the Government hospitals; four pupil Health Inspectors are being trained by the Health Inspector.

D. J. M. MacKenzie,

Deputy Director of Medical Services.

Mafeking,
2.6.1944.

ANNEXURE X

SWAZILAND—WAR EFFORT

Numbers of Persons Recruited

*African Auxiliary Pioneer Corps	3,768
European Males	183
European Females	19
Indian and Malay Corps, approximately	70

* There are also a few natives in the Native Military Corps. There are no details of the numbers.

War Fund Contribution since the Outbreak of War to the end of September, 1943

	£	s.	d.
(1) Savings Fund	671	3	6
(2) Loans by individuals free of interest	509	15	10
(3) To His Majesty's Government	17,097	9	2
(4) To Duke of Gloucester's Red Cross and St. John's Ambulance Fund	1,628	12	10
(5) To Lord Mayor's Air Raid Distress Fund	193	18	7
(6) To Lowestoft Patrol Service	82	0	0
Total	£20,182	19	11

	£	s.	d.
(1) To various appeals such as Prisoners of War Fund, Troop Comforts, etc.	1,196	17	6
(2) Governor-General's National War Fund	1,106	15	3

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